University of Alberta

Word Order Inversion in Bulgarian and Russian Discourse

by

Mariela Dakova ©

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in partial fulfillment of requirements for the degree
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Abstract

By applying comparative and contrastive analyses of the narrative production in two Slavic languages, Bulgarian and Russian, this study aims to find the factors that motivate the speaker's choice of word order (WO) and to summarize the tendencies of occurrence of the "inverted" WO (when the Verb precedes the Subject). The hypothetical factors tested are the new character, new picture and new episode introduction.

The experimental design employed involves the study of a set of six pictures that represent a fairly popular folktale. The set is used to stimulate Russian and Bulgarian speakers to compose a story. The experimental analysis is based on two sets of 19 Russian and 19 Bulgarian discourses.

In the core part of the study the three discourse factors of new character, new episode and the new picture are tested. Since the research deals with non-parametric data expressed as frequency of occurrence of alternative WO types, a CHI-square test is used in the statistical analysis. The analysis shows that the WO in both Bulgarian and Russian is dependent on these factors when they work together as well as when they work independently of each other in discourse. The most salient of the factors is the new character factor. The least salient is the new episode factor and the new picture factor takes a middle position in this hierarchy.

The new character introduction in discourse shows a very similar effect in both languages. The factors of new episode and new picture beginning seemed to correlate better with the WO inversion in Russian than in Bulgarian: their influence over Russian WO results in a greater number of VS sentences expressing these functions as well as in a higher statistical significance. In other words: when compared to Bulgarian, Russian is more

strongly dependent on discourse factors such as new picture and new episode.

The analyses of exceptions shows that the WO plays the role of distinguishing a new concept (character, picture, episode) in competition with other factors, namely lexical and intonational ones. Non-inversion of WO occurs (in both languages) in very similar contextual conditions, such as lexical and structural complexity of a clause, intonation, and pronominalization. This study argues that the function of a clause, which often is expressed by special conjunctions, correlates with the WO. We determined that syntactic functions of counterposition, apposition, consequence and contrastive embedding usually occur in SV type of sentences and sometimes this WO is the only grammatical and/or acceptable choice.

In both languages we found evidence that adverbials and particles at the beginning of a clause, together with intonation, work as alternatives to WO inversion in marking new information in discourse. This observation has not been tested yet using discourse production techniques, and presents a hypothesis for further research in both languages.

We observed that more expanded constituent structures tend to occur with a prototypical WO. When a Noun phrase or a Verb phrase in a sentence with a new character or episode/picture beginning contained an adjective or an adverbial respectively, the VS inversion usually did not occur.

The results of the this study do not support the idea, expressed in the literature, that a language system such as Russian which exhibits morphological marking tends to be more flexible than an analytical language system such as Bulgarian. Our data does not show evidence that WO variation is more limited in Bulgarian than it is in Russian.

0. Introduction

It is always amazing how differently people talk even when they speak one and the same language. Some jump right to the point, surprising their hearers with many ideas expressed in a few words, others never seem to reach any idea, flooding their hearers with a flow of speech. The forms of the speech, no matter how many, are always fewer than the thoughts and the ideas. And yet the language forms are completely sufficient to express our thoughts, since each form has several functions.

Situations in which people use language vary. They want to buy clothes, to tell jokes, to teach a child proper manners or improper fractions. Language is a tool for achieving these aims and its use is situationally determined. The choice of one or another language form depends on the situation and has special functions in expressing ideas and accomplishing the goals of communication.

In the case of this study the particular communicative situation is provoked by a set of pictures which act as stimuli for the speakers to tell a story. Therefore, the situation is, in a sense, controlled - the theme or the topic is constant, the characters and the events represented by the pictures do not vary. And yet: forty different people, when confronted by the same set of pictures, produced forty different stories! Short and long, smooth and rough, stories that are annoying, surprising, thought-provoking, and hilarious.

Telling a story is a skill. Some people are good at it, some people are not (although they are fluent in speaking the language). "Story grammars", describing structure of the narratives, do not reveal what makes story tellers good. I suspend judgment on the quality of the stories in this study. I have enjoyed each and every one of them. I appreciate the effort my story tellers made, since they enabled me to investigate the structures of two different languages, to find some tendencies and reach conclusions that hopefully will enhance our knowledge of language system and language use.

0.1. Purpose of the study

As mentioned above, story telling is a skill. Therefore, it is something learned. The process of learning requires certain rules or general strategies to be followed. If discovered, these strategies are a valuable tool in good story telling. By applying comparative and contrastive analyses of the narrative production in two Slavic languages, Bulgarian and Russian, this study aims to find tendencies related to the use of language structures and examines the context or discourse that motivates their use.

Every language system makes a certain number of different structures available to the speakers. The choice of a structure is always motivated by the situation, with all the many different components involved (see Hudson 1980), including the goals of communication. Yet this choice is creative and, in fact, accounts for the specifics of individual speech. As we already pointed out, the forms of the language are fewer than the ideas and the thoughts which people may have. "Since the number of the states and affairs which one can talk about is infinite but since the number of different structures which the grammar of a language makes available to speakers is severely limited, there can be no one-to-one relationship between communicative requirements and the grammatical form of the sentences" (Lambrecht 1994: 8). It is logical then, that one structure or form will fit few communicative situations. Finding out the correspondence between certain communicative functions and certain structures is the goal of the present study.

We are concerned in particular with the phenomenon of word order (WO) in two so-called "free" WO languages: Russian and Bulgarian. We will examine the sentence structures available in Russian and Bulgarian to find out the factors that motivate the speaker's choice of word order and to summarize the tendencies of occurrence of the "inverted" WO (when the verb precedes the subject). In the view that there is no one-to-one relationship between the grammatical structure and the communicative requirements, our goal is to map the types of situations of use onto the existing formal types of grammatical structures.

Although related, Russian and Bulgarian differ in structure, since Bulgarian has lost case inflection. The two languages inherited the synthetic system of a common proto language. In the 12th century, Bulgarian already showed evidence of loss of morphological inflection which affected the language structure by changing it from a synthetic to analytic type. Russian, however, preserved all the cases (except the vocative) inherited from the original language system and remained a synthetic language.

There is a generally-held belief with regard to the language systems, that the loss of morphology in nouns results in a fixing of word order. It is only natural in such cases to expect that the function of a morphological inflection to show the relation between the constituents of a sentence will be taken by the word order. And yet, Bulgarian shows great flexibility in its word order. We consider this phenomenon to be of major interest in choosing to compare these two particular languages.

As mentioned above, it is assumed that both Bulgarian and Russian have so called "free" word order. The term "free" is confusing. Understood literally, it could eliminate the goals set out above, in the sense that no mapping and no tendency can be found for something that occurs "freely" (independently) of any other factors. Instead, we prefer to use the term "flexible" when defining the type of Bulgarian and Russian word order, i.e., the sentence structure varies in order to meet certain communicative needs. A comparison of narrative production with particular regard to word order variation in two related, but structurally distinct languages, is expected to reveal cross-cultural similarities and differences and to contribute to our understanding of the universals of grammar, language specific constraints and general tendencies.

0.2. Terminology and methodology

In order to limit the infinite set of states and affairs about which people communicate, we employed a strategy of collecting narratives related to a specific theme. This strategy allows us to restrict our attention to the use of grammatical structures under a reasonable number of contextual conditions. At the same time, narrative production provides the environment for the use of alternative syntactic structures and provides a good basis for functional analysis.

Narratives are one particular form of language which emerge when people build situation models that last for a while, that have a beginning, a center of development and an end, and that have goals to achieve. Narrative texts or narrative discourses are about events, actions, and experiences that people communicate. "Narrative" then is the representation of at least two real or fictitious events or situations in a time sequence. "Narratology" (the term was used by Tzvetan Todorov in 1969 to designate the study of narrative) is the scientific study of narrative communication. Its scope, however, is not constituted by events and actions, or their verbalization. Narrative study is about the process of narrative production and the function of the narrative messages. It is clear that "narratology has an anthropological scope: it is concerned with the production, transmission and exchange of information" (Coste 1990: 5). Like other sciences of communication, narratology aims to construct a model of its object, namely narrative discourse. This model involves descriptive, explicative and normative factors. To the extend that the current study is occupied with such factors in influencing WO choices, it falls within the scope of narratology.

There are other disciplines dealing with the investigation of narratives. Discourse analysis, for example, deals with language beyond the sentence, language as it is naturally used in conversation, in narratives, and in other ways. Two general approaches are known in the field of discourse analysis: one that aims to give an account of how forms of language are used in communication, and another that is primarily concerned with human interaction and with language as an expression of this interaction (compare: Brown and Yule 1984 and Stubb 1983). The second approach focuses not simply on the communicative function of the language, but also on the social setting of this function. While the first approach implies the methods of descriptive linguistics, the second relates linguistic features to socio-economic variables. The term "discourse analysis", thus, is used to describe research at the intersection of disciplines such as sociology, psychology with functional and formal linguistics.

This study takes a primarily linguistic approach to the analysis of the discourse. We give consideration to the social factors like age, sex, education, of the informants, since these factors determine the specifics of the collected narratives for the research. We also take into account the genre characteristics of a folk tale as described in narratology, since they affect the style of the discourses analyzed. We adopt methods from psycholinguistics and computational linguistics while analyzing the data. But our major interest is the traditional concern of the descriptive linguist: to give an account of how forms of language are used in communication. In this sense our study is clearly associated with the general area of pragmatics, a sub-domain of semantics which deals with the interpretation of sentences as they occur and depend on particular communicative settings.

The present research is situated somewhere between the formal and the functional approaches to the grammar. Our analysis is greatly influenced by the concept that language forms provide the resources for expressing the communicative needs of speakers, therefore their nature cannot be understood unless we determine the principles of their function in discourse. We share, therefore the theoretical position expressed by K. Lambrecht in his book Information Structure and Sentence Form:

> "I do not believe that linguistic form can be exhaustively accounted for in terms of its communicative function in discourse. Nor do I believe that syntax is autonomous in the sense that it does not directly reflect communicative needs. [...] In my view, the most promising but perhaps also the most difficult approach to grammatical analysis is one in which the different components of grammar are seen not as hierarchically organized independent subsystems but as interdependent forces competing with each other for the limited coding possibilities offered by the structure of the sentence. I take as a linguistic theory of high explanatory value to be one in which these forces are not only analyzed in isolation but also in their multiple dependence relations to each other" (Lambrecht 1994:11-12).

In this vein, the sentence structure in our analysis will be examined as a domain where the different components of grammar - syntax, morphology, semantics, prosody and information structure - compete and interact in the process of language use.

0.3. Experimental design

The experimental design employed is one involving the study of a set of six pictures that represent a fairly popular folktale. The set is used to stimulate Russian and Bulgarian speakers to compose a story. Since one fundamental purpose of the language is to convey information about the visual world, there certainly are strategies that suit this purpose. The goal of previous linguistic studies was to find out some of these strategies. A valuable contribution to the field of narrative production is The Pear Stories (Chafe 1980). As stated in the title of the book, the goals of the researchers were to investigate the cognitive, cultural and linguistic aspects of narrative production.

The present study is inspired by The Pear Stories. While comparing the two sets of narratives - one in Russian, another in Bulgarian - we began looking for the answers to questions such as: Are the ways of telling about events culturally determined? How are the characters introduced and maintained in the foreground? How do they become central and peripheral? What are the factors influencing the lexical and structural choice of the story-tellers? Most important for us, however, was to seek answers to the questions of whether the introduction of the characters, the shift from one picture to another, or the shift from one episode to another in the discourse causes some changes in the word order used by the speakers.

The choice of this dissertation topic and methods resulted from our desire to supplement linguistic theories based only on written language material and on prescriptive grammar. While the study of written texts can be fruitful, the study of natural spontaneous texts, with all their good and bad features, and with their different assumptions about the speaker/listener relationship, will further enhance our understanding of language structure and language use, and help us build better models of language.

1. Word order strategy and information structure

1.1. Language typology based on word order - overview.

The grammar of word order (WO) operates at three levels: syntactic, semantic and pragmatic. At the syntactic level a subject-verb-object (SVO) word order signals the semantic level of agent-action-goal. The pragmatic level coordinates the reflection of reality in language, i.e., actors must exist prior to initiation of the action and the action must be started in order for its object to be somehow affected (Givon 1990). Logically, grammar defines the subject as a main constituent in the sentence structure and the object as a secondary constituent. The same pragmatic sequence is used in the grammar as a basis for the definition of subject-verb-object as a neutral, unemotive type of WO.

"In discussing 'basic' word order three related but separate notions must be clearly distinguished: "most neutral word order', 'most common word order', and 'underlying word order'", states Langacker (1977, cited by D. Payne 1990: 21). In the typological work of Greenberg (1963), the criteria for determining basic word order for specific languages is intuitive and semantically based. Hawkins (1983) specifies the following ideal criteria for determining the basic type: it is absolutely more frequent and it is least restricted in terms of syntactic rule operation. In the tradition of generative syntax, one type is often assumed as the underlying order of constituents with no necessary relation between the underlying and surface constituent order. The principle of determining the basic word order adopted in this study is close to that proposed by Hawkins.

The case roles of subject, object, goal, recipient, and instrument are signaled in languages in general by morphological inflections, by prepositions, or by a combination of both, depending on the type of language. WO itself is limited to signal the case role of only two participants - the subject (S) and the object (O) in the sentences, since nouns can only have two positions - they either precede or follow the verb. On the basis of this limitation language typology classifies languages as SVO / OVS, or VSO / VOS types (Givon 1984). Individual languages, however, show variation in the use of the main WO types. Some are limited to the use of one single type of WO, some tend to vary in employing one or another different type. The degree of this variation is the factor according to which languages are considered to be of "fixed/rigid" WO type or "free/flexible" WO type.

Typological WO classifications of languages are based on criteria that different authors choose. Most classifications are neither exhaustive nor unique. By exhaustive we mean that all the languages are put into some class, by unique - that no language is put into more than one class. This consideration helps us understand the differences in the typological classifications presented by the authors (compare, for example Givon's suggestion in the previous paragraph and Greenberg's classification on the following page).

One of the first to compare different languages with regard to their word order features and attempted to classify the results in a typological listing was Weil (1844). Using seven languages and five criteria he distinguished two major types of word order: the first one places the qualifying word after the noun, the second one places the qualifying word before the noun that is qualified.

Far more detailed was the classification presented by Schmidt (1926, cited by Andersen 1983), for he looked at most of the then known languages in the world. The two above named authors, though, used five criteria for classification which could be summarized as follows:

a) the position of the adjective with regard to the noun which it modifies;

b) the position of the complement with regard to the verb;

c) the position of the genitive with regard to the noun it modifies;

d) the use of prepositions or postpositions;

e) the position of the subject

The most important contribution to the language typology based on word order are Greenberg's word order universals (1966). His primary data included 30 languages of the world and his typology is based on the following three criteria: 1) the existence of prepositions or postpositions; 2) the relative order of subject (S), verb (V) and object (O) in declarative main clauses with nominal subject and object; 3) the position of qualifying adjectives in relation to their nouns. The conclusions most relevant to this particular study are related to the second of his criteria where Greenberg concludes: Since the orders VOS, OSV and OVS "do not occur at all, or at least are excessively rare, one is left with the three orders: I (VSO), II (SVO) and III (SOV). The notion of dominance of a particular order over its alternative is introduced here as a general principle, setting up the following relationships: SV is dominant over VS; VO is dominant over OV" (1966: 76).

In the 70s Lehmann (1974) developed a modified version of Greenberg's typology, where he ignored the role of the subject in the word order and talked only about VO/OV languages. It reduced the original types of Greenberg's classification to only two types, the variation of which in real language is accounted for by transformational rules and constraints (for example the Fundamental Movement Rule which presents the principle of placement of modifiers). Eliminating the subjects and distinguishing the verbs as primary elements in sentences was supported by neurological research and by Case grammar (Fillmore 1968). Lehmann accounts for the exceptions to this typology as the result of language change or marking.

The question of the order modifier, modified continued to persist in number of studies of the late 70s and early 80s (Vennemann 1974, Hawkins 1982,1983). The Natural Serialization Principle and the Principle of Cross Category Harmony were proposed respectively. The first, introduced by Vennemann, claimed that languages show consistency in placing the modifiers to one side of the head-noun. For example, if OV is the basic type then the modifier is postpositional with reference to the noun it modifies. Many exceptions were found and generally this principle required critical reconsideration. The basis for Hawkins' Principle of Harmony was found in Greenberg's idea for a harmonic or disharmonic relation among distinct rules of order. His universal 2 says: If a language has VSO word order, then if the adjective follows the noun, the genitive follows the noun. What is more important with regard to the present study is the fact that the role of the subject was restored to word order typology.

Evidently the main objective in typological studies has been to set up generalizations drawn from the data of the different languages observed. A real step forward in typological research was the hierarchy imposed on the criteria for word order classification as well as the attempts made to explain exceptions. In order to account for the exceptions, authors tried different approaches: they either attributed the exception to a process of marking or to a process of language change, or they further refined the Greenbergian implicational universals to accommodate more language data. The second approach, however, seems less promising, since from the 8000 or so living languages, only about 500 were actually researched with regard to their word order type (Andersen 1983). And yet, this limited research shows that many exceptions still exist. It is difficult to imagine what further refining of universals could be done to accommodate languages not yet studied in order to account for exceptions there.

Thus, we consider it important to state, as a consequence of the above, that we will loosely base this study on the typological observations already made.

Since individual languages show variation in the use of their main word order type, we think it important to study the factors motivating the variations. Such explanations of the exceptions from a type and variations within a type are the concern of many typological studies from the 90s. Thus, Payne (1990) discussed a number of pragmatic factors motivating the word order variation in Yagua (a language of the northeastern area of Peru) which is classified as a verb initial language. She determined semantic and pragmatic conditions under which a constituent of a sentence occurs with a high probability in a preverbal position. It is very important to state that the WO does not differentiate the conditions as motivated by focus (the term is introduced by Halliday (1967) for referring to the primary point of information - see our discussion in chapter 1.3.1), contrast, restatement, and so on. What appears to be significant is not whether something is in focus condition rather than contrast, but "simply whether it is pragmatically marked in any of the ways identified" (Payne 1990: 221). This approach to the study of word order change aims to find the possible parameters motivating it in the individual languages of any type.

Andersen (1983) proposed a summary of parameters affecting the word order:

- expression of modalities (statement, question, etc.);
- difference between clause type (main clause, subordinate clauses);
- expression of basic syntactic functions such as subject, object, etc., and the scope of operators and modifiers;
- expression of thematic ordering (functional sentence perspective) determined by text strategy in terms of parameters such as given and new;
- expression of focus, motivated by propositional presuppositions; this is linked with emphasis and special structures such as cleft;
- weight of constituents (the principle of end-weight);
- expression of iconic cohesion.

Andersen concluded that an examination of the effect of these parameters on the word order in a specific language will help us to reconsider the idea of the free word order type. "Such an investigation of word order will necessarily entail an analysis of word order not only in isolation but also in context: [....] although sentences in isolation may indeed give us the impression of a totally free word order, when viewed in their respective context we find that the variations very often correlate to pragmatic functions" (Andersen 1983: 66).

Our main interest to determine to what extent the word order of Russian and Bulgarian is "free" is clarified by the above cited literature. As Andersen clearly stated, the context in which sentences occur influences their WO which otherwise seems to be free in isolation. We would like to test the WO variation in Bulgarian and Russian narratives. To do this the principle of determining a basic WO, defined by Givon and Langacker as the "most neutral and most common, and absolutely more frequent" WO, is adopted. We adhere to Greenberg's notion of dominance of a particular order over its alternative. This leads to acknowledging SV as the dominant WO in Bulgarian and Russian. We aim to examine the variation of the dominant WO type in discourse and to correlate its change with factors that might possibly control it. Our criteria for WO factors studied by Schmidt, Hawkins and others, when classifying different languages, is limited to the position of the main constituents of the sentence: subject and verb. Before searching for the factors determining the WO change, we will examine the typological features of Russian and Bulgarian WO.

1.2. Russian and Bulgarian WO types

With regard to general typology, both Bulgarian and Russian are considered to fit into the group of "flexible" SVO type, i.e., their WO vary but SVO is the one used most often. Moreover, when morphological markers do not show any specifics of case roles, the assumed sequence of the main constituents is SVO. E.g., in the sentence: Мать любит дочь / Майката обича дъщерята (The mother loves the daughter), where the mother and the daughter can easily switch the roles of actor and recipient and where neither noun is marked as an object, the basic WO decides who is doing what to whom, i.e., the mother is the actor / doer / subject of the sentence and the daughter is the recipient / object., or in a more transitive situation: Мария мрази Петър / Иван уби Борис (Marija hates Peter / Ivan killed Boris) where nothing else but the basic WO disambiguates the roles of actor and recipient, namely Marija and Ivan do/did something to Peter and Boris.

In other words, we accept that SVO is the basic, prototypical WO for Russian and Bulgarian. (Scatton 1993: 222, Timberlake 1993: 858-59). We use the term change to denote any variation on this basic WO.

After considering the above examples, one comes to appreciate the devices these two languages employ in order to avoid ambiguity when WO is not the sole marker of case roles. In Russian these are the case inflections for Nominative and Accusative, in Bulgarian the reduplication of the object by an accusative personal pronoun is used as a distinguishing technique.

Thus, in the Russian sentence: Саша ударил Андрея (Sasha hit Andrej), an accusative marking on the name Andrej-AndrejA, signals immediately that he is the recipient/object. Its role would be preserved and would be perfectly clear, even if the sentence had an inverted WO like: Андрея ударил Саша. In Bulgarian, where case inflection is historically lost, otherwise redundant clitic pronouns disambiguate the case roles. Since the personal pronouns kept Nominative, Accusative and Dative forms, they are used as markers of the recipient in the modern analytic language system (Mirchev 1978). Consider the sentence: Елена целуна Боян. Its reading as given would be: Elena(subject) kissed Bojan(object) because subject precedes object. By reduplicating Elena with an accusative pronoun -ja , one can turn her role into recipient, i.e. : Елена я целуна Боян, where the WO becomes OVS and the reading is: Elena was kissed by Bojan, or Bojan kissed Elena.

Word order, then, is only a limited device in signaling the subject/actor and object/recipient roles. It helps the reader/listener to understand who is doing what to whom only in ambiguous sentences where no other markers show this. Then the preference for SVO distribution of semantic roles resolves the semantic ambiguity. (More information about the Russian and Bulgarian WO is presented in 1.3.4 and 2.2)

Right at the outset we must point out that supplementary means such as morphological inflection and object reduplication for denoting the actor and the recipient of an action permit extra freedom both to Russian and Bulgarian WO. They give the speakers opportunity to begin the sentence with a constituent of their choice without making their messages ambiguous. A logical question, then, would be: what is the basis of preferring one or another constituent at the beginning or at the end of any sentence? We will search for the answer in the following review of the general linguistic theory.

1.3. General Linguistic Theory accounts for WO phenomena

1.3.1. Theme and rheme approach

It is known from the literature that WO is influenced by communicative or informational factors and that it depends on the particular goal which the speaker has. With respect to the informational structure and the distribution of given and new information, two elements are traditionally distinguished within the sentence: theme and rheme. The former expresses the old or already known content of the sentence and the latter introduces a new concept or entity.

Since its introduction by the Prague Linguistic School the notion of theme and rheme has been at the core of most linguistic accounts of WO. The originator of the Functional Sentence Perspective Theory, Vilem Mathesius (1928), used the terms theme and Enunciation to refer to "what the sentence is about" and "what is said about it" respectively. For Mathesius the theme is known or obvious in any given communicative situation and it "invariably precedes the enunciation". For sentences of the type Byl jednou jeden kral / There was once a king, where all the elements represent new information, Mathesius had to acknowledged that some sentences had no theme.

In order to give a better account for the distribution of given and new, Jan Firbas (1966) introduced the notion of the communicative dynamism, that is the "extent to which a particular sentence element contributes to the development of the further communication" (Firbas 1974: 3). The degree of communicative dynamism (CD) varies among the sentential elements: the constituent that carries the highest degree of CD is the rheme; the theme is then the element which contains the lowest degree of CD. The concept of communicative dynamism is based on the fact that communication is not a static but dynamic phenomenon: CD is a quality displayed by communication in its development. Therefore, the elements conveying known information contribute less to the further development of the communication than elements conveying unknown information. Firbas also assumed that the semantic content of an element increases its communicative importance and its degree of communicative dynamism if the element is shifted toward the end of the sentence.

The modification of theme into topic and rheme into focus/comment did not change the meaning of the original terms, for it was still the distinction of given and new that these terms referred to. Hocket (1958) introduced the terms topic and comment as "the most general characterization of predicative constructions, ... where the speaker announces a topic and then says something about it". He also pointed out that in English the topic most often coincides with the grammatical subject.

The notion of Information focus was introduced in Halliday (1967) as a reflection of the Functional Sentence Perspective in the intonation structure of a sentence. "Each information unit is realized as one tone group. ... Each information unit has either one primary point of information focus or one primary followed by one secondary." (Halliday 1967: 202, 203). Information focus is the kind of emphasis whereby the speaker marks out a part (which may be the whole) of a message block which he wishes to be interpreted as informative. "What is focal is 'new' information; if we use the term 'given' to label what is not new, we can say that the system of information focus assigns to the information unit a structure in terms of the two functions 'given' and 'new' " (Halliday 1967:204).

The information focus, then, is that element within a structure to which a primary stress (tonic) is assigned. In most cases given precedes new, therefore sentences with primary stress in final position have higher frequency than sentences with a tonic located in the initial element. With respect to the high frequency of occurrence, Halliday defines the structure with a tonic on the last lexical item as unmarked. Marked focus, accordingly, is any other location of the tonic.

Furthermore, he distinguishes the domain of given and new from the domain of theme and rheme in the clause. The explanation: "while given means what you were talking about or what I was talking about before, theme means what I am talking about now". On the other hand, focus deals with new information in the sense that it is not situationally or anaphorically recoverable. In view of such distinction between theme / rheme and given / new, one can infer that for Halliday the first dichotomy (theme/rheme) is related to the functional sentence perspective, while the second dichotomy (given/new) is assigned to relations of presupposition.

Dahl (1969) works with the dichotomy topic/comment, when elucidating the idea that in communication there is a certain favored order for saying something (y) about something (x). This order is usually mapped in the sentence as 'x' precedes 'y'. "If we want to present the concept of topic and comment very loosely, we might say that in general any sentence can be divided into two parts, the topic, in which we name something that we want to make a statement about and the comment, where we make this statement." (Dahl 1969: 5)

In the framework of generative grammar the concept of theme/rheme was represented as a set of layers. Sgall, for instance, distinguishes three hierarchically ordered layers in the functions of the sentence: "in the basic unmarked layer the location of individual words on the scale from theme to rheme is conditioned by their position in the semantic structure of the sentence, in the second layer this location is additionally affected by the context or the situation ("contextual boundness") and the third layer is constituted by emphasis on the element of the sentence in cases of what is called the second instance" (Sgall 1973: 203). Every layer contributes greatly to one of major functions attributed to the theme/rheme distinction. I.e., the "communicative importance" is realized at the first layer, the "communicative dynamism" expressed by a hierarchy of the elements of a sentence is reserved for the second layer, which is greatly influenced by the context.

Daneš (1974) considers the dichotomy of given/new as a context dependent and the theme /rheme distinction as realized at the moment of talking, during the utterance, which is similar to Halliday's model. But while in Halliday's work there is strict distinction between theme/rheme and given/new, for Daneš it is of no significance. In fact, he employs mainly the term "thematic aspect" in his analyses. He further underlines the importance of the theme in process of communication: "The amount of successively accumulated information is mostly so extensive that the speaker, carrying on the discourse, must necessarily make a choice from this mass. And we may rightly assume that he selects the utterance theme from it [...] . In any case, the portions (elements) of "known" information occurring in a utterance are exactly those elements that are closely connected with the selected theme." (Daneš 1974: 112).

In general, the theory of Functional Sentence Perspective encompasses the following ideas (see: Palkova & Palek 1978) as articulated by various authors after Firbas:

a) It is possible to draw a distinction between segments of the sentence which present information already known (from the context or the situation) and segments conveying new information which can not be inferred by the listener;

b) It is possible to distinguish in a sentence segments which are context dependent, i.e., which are connected with segments of another sentence of the same text;

c) It is possible to distinguish in a sentence segments which are of greater or lesser communicative importance;

d) In communication there is a certain favored order for saying something (y) about something (x), which is mapped in the sentence and wherein x usually precedes y;

e) one element of the sentence can be emphasized by contrast with all other elements and it is usually done by a marked phonetic realization.

Variations of this approach, as employed by different authors, differ depending on which of the above ideas is their major concern. Sometimes their attention is restricted to one or two of these concepts, sometimes there is no clear distinction of the concepts in a particular study. But in general it can be said that Functional Sentence Perspective theory has provided the historical underpinning of text-grammar and discourse analysis.

However, the empirical problems of establishing what is given and what is new in the text remain, no matter how refined the terms are: theme/rheme; topic/comment/focus. Their modification was often based on the fact that new investigations went beyond the limits of the sentence. The search for characteristics of given and new became the focus of large textual studies, where the expanded context provided new insights into the definitions of these categories. With the advancement of linguistic research the theory of given and new brought more understanding of language use as well as greater confusion of linguistic terms: in some studies theme was identified as subject at the level of the sentence, in others theme was identified as topic at the discourse level.

1.3.2. Given / new approach

Linguists of the 70s and 80s have spent a great deal of effort elaborating on these two cognitive categories of given and new as expressed in texts. Kuno (1972, 1978, 1979), Halliday and Hasan (1976) consider given everything that is predictable/recoverable from the previous context. Chafe (1976) and Prince (1978) define givenness as a requirement of Saliency and therefore give it very transitory status. In other words, given information represents the knowledge that the speaker assumes to be in the consciousness of the hearer at the moment of the utterance. In contrast to this, what the speaker assumes s/he is introducing into the hearer's consciousness by what s/he says, is the new information. Givenness, according to Clark and Haviland (1977), is part of the shared knowledge between the speaker and the hearer. Thus, given information is what the speaker believes the hearer already knows. Their view, as noted by Chafe, concerns more the category of definiteness than givenness.

There has been a great deal of expansion of the domain of given: it was originally associated with the tone group (Halliday) or clause and extended from there to the knowledge that speaker and hearer share. Therefore, the given-new distinction can be found relevant on different levels - the sentence, the linguistic discourse, even the real world context in which the participants of the discourse are located.

In the particular case of our study we use this distinction in the analysis of the information structure of the collected narratives. Previous empirical research shows that neither one of the definitions above can be used independently nor be sufficient to explain the information structure of any text. It will be justified for us then, to use the notions of given and new in their variable use as it is known from the previous literature.

The very notion of "information structure" has also been applied with different meaning in linguistic research: sometimes it is related to the structure of the sentence, sometimes it is related to the mental state of the sender and receiver of the message expressed by the sentence. It is easy to find support for one or another version. For instance, in Chafe (1976:27), the study of information structure has more to do "with how the content is transmitted than with the content itself". Similar is the view of Prince (1981:224), in whose words information "packaging" is the "tailoring of an utterance" by a sender to meet the particular needs of the receiver. Lambrecht (1994:3) takes information structure to be "a component of grammar, more specifically of sentence grammar <...> a determining factor in the formal structure of a sentence." The citations suggest that the differences in the use of the term "Information structure" are based on what linguists take as the more important factor - the psychological phenomena involved in communication or its linguistic form. In this sense the "information structure" is respectively understood as a more cognitive notion or a more structural grammatical term.

It is apparent, though, that the information structure must deal simultaneously with formal and communicative aspects of language. "Information structure research neither offers the comfort which many syntacticians find in the idea of studying an autonomous formal object nor provides the possibility enjoyed by sociolinguists of putting aside issues of formal structure for the sake of capturing the function of a language in social interaction" (Lambrecht 1994: 1). While the terminology in describing "information structure" varies between linguists, the concept of "Information unit" is more common in the literature. The "information unit" is generally considered to consist of a given element accompanied by a new element. According to Halliday (1985) the new is a obligatory element, and the given is optional.

A richer taxonomy than the simple given/new distinction is suggested by many researchers starting with Prince (1981). She developed a model of information structure where the links between given and new are also considered. "New" discourse entities should be classified as "brand" new, that is not in any way known to the hearer, and as "unused", that is in the hearer's background knowledge, but not at the moment of speech/utterance. Then, there are discourse inferable entities, which the hearer can supposedly infer from a discourse entity that is already introduced. The Inferable elements are somewhere in between the new and given elements.

Third, there are "evoked" entities which are expected to be treated as given and which refer for a second or subsequent time to entities already in the discourse.

Another contribution to the taxonomy of given and new in a manner that is more detailed than one based on binary distinctions, is presented by Chafe (1987). While he retains the terms given and new he suggests the cognitive alternatives of "already active" and "previously inactive" as appropriate alternatives to the original terms. He also introduces the notion of "accessible" or "previously semi-active" information as a third type which is intermediate between given and new. The definitions and terms suggested are based on the concept that "the speakers' purpose in speaking is to bring about changes in the activation states of information in the hearers' mind" (Chafe 1987:25). Since the concepts do not remain in a active state in the hearers' mind very long they either should be re-activated in the discourse or they will become deactivated. Exactly in the process of deactivation Chafe sees the properties of semi-active stages which last for a while. This consideration clearly evokes the idea that the given/new distribution has a transitory status in discourse. Moreover, it is evident that the theory of information structure becomes related to discourse as a process, rather than to discourse as a finished product or text only. The transitory status of given/new distribution implies the idea of *bridging* between old and new information and this involves transforming the taxonomy into a triple, quadruple or scalar rather than binary system which would be more relevant to the natural process of discourse.

The refinements of how new is the new in the text and how known is the given information gave birth to the idea of construction of a Familiarity scale (a term originally used by Prince), which modifies given and new into notions of:

KNOWN from the *general knowledge* that every living person on this planet is assumed to have;

KNOWN from the *common culture* or *experience* of the speaker-hearer;

KNOWN as *evoked* from the situation or context;

KNOWN as *inferred* via logical or plausible reasoning;

KNOWN because it was already mentioned in the text (which itself goes in the scale of KNOWN as being active at the moment of utterance or deactivated already)...

and

NEW as just created, or *brand new ;*

NEW as mentioned for the first time in the text;

NEW as another/second introduction of something already forgotten by the hearer.

The above refinements summarize what different authors in well-known studies define as given and new. It is evident that there is a variety of givenness and newness, but no matter how many modifications of the notions we can add, there will always be a center of the category around which the other nuances of the general meaning may be placed. In this sense the categories of given and new could be viewed as "fuzzy". If we use a different description to express this, we can say that there is a central basis for the categories of given and new, a more basic type or prototype, and with reference to this basic meaning every nuance can be placed on a scale. Thus, the *general meaning* (in Jacobsonian terms), or the *center* of the category (in Filmore's terms), or the *prototype* for the familiarity scale (in Prince's description), are all terms that refer to the central feature, or set of features, which are self-contained in the words given or new. The *general meaning* is usually understood as a bundle of features shared by all members of a category, so their variety is expressed by the presence or absence of additional features which are not shared by all members. The idea of the *central* and *peripheral* members of a category identifies the center as the intersection of a number of features or characteristics. Most important, it is the center where most of the categorical features are shared. The *periphery*, then, is the space around the center, filled with other intersections, where fewer characteristics are shared. (The best explanation of this theory is to be found in Givon 1990: 14-15).

By using one or another model of setting up the categories of given and new, however, the cognitive and the linguistic notions do not change. Among all the characteristics of given and new found in the literature this study adopts those that are easiest to define on the background of the previous discourse. Since we examine the WO of sentences introducing new characters, new pictures and new episodes, we treat as new every first mention of a character, every first mention of an event from a new picture or every first mention of an event from a new episode in discourse.[1]

We based our hypotheses of WO inversion in Russian and Bulgarian on the theories presented above, namely the given/new distribution and the theme/rheme realization. In order to avoid some terminological confusion, theme and rheme are used in this study as notions for describing the sentence structure only. The terms of given and new are used when the broader analysis of discourse structure is involved.

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[1] Despite the fact that the participants in the folk tale were familiar to most speakers from when they first heard the folk tale (probably in their childhood), we treat the first introduction of every character in the narrative as a new entity in discourse. We can base this method on the fact that the first entry of a character is not recoverable from the previous context and therefore could be considered as a brand new entity in the discourse structure.

We further relate the WO inversion to the theory of markedness which gives the opportunity to distinguish between marked and unmarked WO sentence structures. Since this study assumes that the general word order type for Bulgarian and Russian is SV, we treat the variation VS from that dominant order as marked. In the following section we discuss some concepts of the theory of markedness as they concern our study.

1.3.3. WO and the theory of markedness

The linguistic theory of markedness has been developed for more than half a century now. And as Olga Tomic (1989) states, the divergence of the attitudes toward markedness is due to changes in the understanding of the notion itself. The principle of markedness attempts to give organization to the polarities that constitute language systems. The following is an attempt by Roman Jakobson at a general definition of this notion:

"The general meaning of a marked category states the presence of a certain property A; the general meaning of the corresponding unmarked category states nothing about the presence of A and is used chiefly but not exclusively to indicate the absence of A" (Jakobson 1957:5).

At the time of its origin, the marked/unmarked opposition was found mainly in the domain of phonology and was expressed in the phonological principles of Trubetzkoy (1939). At this early Praguean time "marking" meant increasing the formal complexity of the phoneme or the morpheme. Along with the formal simplicity, Greenberg (1966:13-24) mentions the following additional characteristics of unmarked phonological features: higher frequency; greater variety of subphonemic variation; appearance in internally conditioned neutralization; relation to the concept of basicness.

In his work The Structure of the Russian Verb (1932), Jakobson transfers the properties of phonological correlation to the morphological description of a language, stating that "One of the essential properties of the phonological correlation is the fact that two members of the correlation pair are not equivalent: one member possesses the mark in question, the other does not". On the basis of the same definition, he assigns markedness values to the Russian verb as follows: Personal is marked as opposed to impersonal; Plural is marked as opposed to singular; Perfective verbs are marked as opposed to imperfective ones and so on.

Enkvist (1977:9-11) offers a general overview of the different uses of the terms "marked" and "unmarked". If arranged from the more formal to the more impressionistic types of definition, the taxonomy of the different uses of the terms looks like this:

(i) Markedness as a concept correlated with the use of formal markers in a description of a language. The marked member of the opposition is the member which has a marking feature which is absent from the unmarked member. Such marking features may be:

(a) phonological
(b) morphological
(c) syntactical
(d) lexical

(ii) Markedness as concept correlated with a distribution pattern: a wide distribution suggests less marking, a restricted distribution more marking.

(iii) Markedness as a concept correlated with objective frequency counts: the least marked structure is that member of an opposition which occurs more frequently in a suitably selected corpus of text.

Along with the process of expansion of the domain of markedness into syntax, morphology and semantics, the understanding of "unmarked" as being the "simpler" of two alternative forms was abandoned. Then the notions of frequency and functional load formed the basis for the marked/unmarked distinction. It was commonly understood that the degree of markedness increases when the frequency of the marked member decreases. This means that the marked member is more restricted in its distribution and that the unmarked one has a greater text frequency. Greenberg (1966) illustrates this generalization with a fair amount of morphological data. And yet, linguistic research has shown that text frequency is not a universally reliable indicator of the markedness value, for there are cases where the higher text frequency does not correspond to the unmarked linguistic unit. This in fact provided the basis for the theory of local markedness (Bybee 1985).

Linguistic research has accepted the notion that markedness values are related to the background context and that what is marked in one context may be unmarked in another. Because of this role of contexts in the distribution of the marked/unmarked opposition, markedness values may be also contextually reversed. This exactly is the reason why in some context the marked member may actually have a higher relative frequency of use.

Consequently it was concluded that a final correlate of semantic markedness can be based neither on formal complexity nor on frequency of distribution. Rather it is based on the idea that certain categories are conceptually and psychologically more basic than others. Such prototypical categories or "prototypes" have been related to the unmarked categories in the works of many authors. For example, Ross (1987) explains the notion of prototype as "an outgrowth of the fundamental notion of markedness" and

Lakoff treats markedness as a prototype effect: "In general markedness is a term used by linguists to describe a kind of prototype effect - an asymmetry in a category, where one member or sub category is taken to be somehow more basic than the other or others. Correspondingly the unmarked member of the category can occur and all other things are equal" (Lakoff 1987: 60-61).

Following the works of Rosch (1977) and Lakoff (1987) prototypes are referred as the best examples of a category or set. The psychological criteria for determining a prototype include testing of subjects that involve direct rating by subjects, tests of the reaction time, production of examples and more.

Winters (1990) develops a set of tests for defining syntactic prototypes. They include type frequency and productivity, features that are closely related to the distribution of the marked/unmarked member of a category. Both the unmarked or the prototypical member presuppose higher frequency and better productivity. "Transparency", as another diagnostic of prototypicality, refers to the ease of production and perception of a syntactic construction and therefore is gradable notion: the easier the process of production and perception the more prototypical is the syntactic structure. "Salience" is defined by Winters as "extra emphasis to mark some emotionally motivated reaction to the information being conveyed." By this definition salience is connected with a less prototypical syntax.

It is evident from all of the above that the psychological notion of prototypes is closely associated with the linguistic theory of markedness. Both concepts use as a background the existence of more basic, obvious and easy-to-process categories. In many cases, in fact, the unmarked member of a category is also the central member or the best example of this category. But whereas markedness is a structural relation, the notion of the prototype is psychological. In determining unmarkedness one must rely on the oppositions of grammatical features, while in determining prototypicality one can look to a bundle of features which do not have to be in opposition.

The question that concerns this study is how the theory of markedness and prototypicality is related to word order variation; and the answer is clear: the existence of a general word order type is assumed for every language and the variations from that dominant order are treated as marginal or marked. The opposition of prototypical and non-prototypical clause types is commonly used as a criterion in WO variation studies. The variations are associated with information focusing or with a particular semantic or stylistic effect. Thus, Hopper and Thomson (1980) and Ross (1987) give the prototypical form of an English sentence as:

agent subject + verb of action + patient (direct) object

The prototypical sentence follows the basic or canonical word order type. All English sentences that are stylistically neutral generally follow this syntactic pattern. Conversely, sentences that have special semantic functions as expressing questions, negations, exclamations, commands, or sentences of special style - formal language, dialectal speech - show variation of the word order prototype. It is also expected that special discourse functions such as contrastive emphasis or introduction of a new topic should exhibit syntactic complications in terms of marked, or nonprototypical structures. Being aware of this expectation we can hypothesize what change of the canonical word order will be involved in the Russian and Bulgarian discourses studied here. Further we can test the discourse conditions associated with the change.

1.3.4. Review of literature related to Russian and Bulgarian WO

Traditional grammar does not say too much about the choices that speakers have regarding WO variations and does not seek the reasons motivating one choice or another. Grammatical descriptions for both Bulgarian and Russian are concerned instead with the most typical structures, with placing the main constituents and the constituents of the noun and the verb phrase at the most appropriate place in the sentence. As far as the variation of the word order is concerned, the grammar usually defines it as a matter of stylistic effect. A short overview of the main concepts in the literature of Bulgarian and Russian word order is provided below.

In general, there is a little difference in the manner of how Russian and Bulgarian grammar describes the phenomenon of WO. Authors' contributions are based mainly on formal approaches to the grammar, while functional analyses of the sentence structure are usually related to the theme/rheme criteria, as established by the Prague school. Only a few experimental studies are known with regard to the Russian word order and none are known in Bulgarian. We are primarily concerned here with the studies that discuss and try to explain the WO variations. The reader interested in other aspects of Russina and bulgarian syntex is directed to Timberlake (1993) and Brezinski (1992).

The main researchers that relate the general principles of Functional Sentence Perspective to the case of Russian in particular are Kovtunova (1967), Sirotinina (1965), Krylova and Khavrotina (1976). They all claim that Russian word order is not "free", but rather dependent on grammatical and functional factors. In addition, because intonation plays a significant role in the spoken language, WO in speech is more flexible than the WO of the written Russian.

In the work of Kovtunova (1967) a general explanation is found for the communicative function of WO. Kovtunova considers the theme and rheme to play the major role in the linear structure of the sentence. Her theory distinguishes two levels of operation of WO: first, the syntax, where the positions of subject and predicate are assigned, and second, the Functional Sentence Perspective, where the theme and rheme are assigned.

A very similar claim with regard to the functions of WO is found in Sirotinina (1965). Along with the distinction of the grammatical and the communicative functions of WO in Russian, she is particularly interested in the position of the direct object with regard to the predicate. More important for our study, she specifies the cases of inversion of the main constituents. According to her, the subject could come after the predicate only when it is new or in cases when the subject and the predicate are both new or both given. Otherwise, she claims, the subject precedes the predicate in 93% of the cases.

In the work of Krylova and Khavrotina (1976), style is considered as a major factor in determining WO. The authors address it as a condition that accounts for the "seeming" freedom of WO. That is to say, in the poetry there is more freedom in placing the constituents of the sentence than there is in the scientific tradition or technical style.

A few studies in the tradition of transformational grammar (Dahl 1969, 1974; Babby 1978) explain Russian surface structure WO as the result of the logical topic-comment structure. Among them Babby's theory opposes the popular view taken by other authors that a change in WO affects the grammatical and semantical level. He claims that WO only express theme and rheme divisions and that grammatical relations in the sentence are outside of its scope. They are almost entirely expressed by the case inflections in the Russian language. Babby also shows the independence of the theme-rheme division from the given-new distinction.

While many authors do consider the role of the context for WO variation, most of them still work with sentences in isolation. Yokoyama's Discourse and Word Order (1983) is the most comprehensive pragmatic study of the Russian word order so far. It not only accounts for the context and the speaker-hearer relationship in sentence structures, but gives a very detailed account of the role of intonation in constituent ordering, something that is only hinted at in many other popular studies (Yokoyama's concept of the intonational factor is discussed later in 8.3.1).

Several experimental studies on Russian word order (Bivon 1971; Svedsted 1976; Krupp 1983) seek to answer the question of when the direct object in Russian precedes and when it follows the verb. In Svedsted's hypothesis the direct object more frequently precedes the verb when it is a pronoun than when it is a noun. His data, however, show that the nature of the subject also influences the WO: thus SPO predominates when the subject is a noun and SOP predominates when the subject is a pronoun.

Bivon (1971) examines the various ordering of the predicate (P), subject (S) and complement (C) - where C corresponds to the direct object in other studies, finding that S-P-C occurs in 79% of the cases in his data, followed by C-P-S that occurs in11%, C-S-P - in 4%, P-C-S - in 2%, and finally P-S-C and S-C-P, each occurring in only1%. Variations of WO are explained by the different nuances of given and new carried by the constituents. These nuances are specified further as essential and non-essential new. What could be concluded from Bivon's work with regard to the main question of our study, namely when do the main constituents (subject and predicate) switch places, is that the subject always occupies initial position when it is given and it goes to sentence final position when it expresses either essential or Non-essential new information. The position of the predicate, on the other hand, is most often (90% of the cases) between the subject and the complement, usually carrying non-essential new information.

Studies of Bulgarian WO are even fewer than in Russian. The new Academic Grammar of Bulgarian (1983) describes nothing more than that found in the Georgieva's Word Order of the Simple Bulgarian Clause (1974). Major consideration in both sources is given to the usual places of the main and secondary constituents of the Bulgarian sentence, as supported by textual examples from popular literature. However, there are statements that particularly concern the scope of our study. For instance, the notion of inversion in this grammar is restricted only to the cases when the modifier and modified switch their usual places or when some enclitics become proclitics for the purposes of rhythmical organization or special stylistic effect. Cases when the predicate is placed before the subject in the linear structure of the Bulgarian sentence are excluded from the notion of "inversion": they are called cases of "inverted word order". The two sources suggest that the term inverted only reflects the change in the grammar but is not good enough to account for the Functional Sentence Perspective. Georgieva further clarifies that the inverted word order is actually the normal (or straight - "прав") word order in the cases when the rheme coincides with the subject, since the rheme in communicational structure usually occurs after the theme. Therefore she suggests instead the use of terms like "objective" and "subjective" word order.

In this study all the cases in which the subject is placed after the predicate are called "inversion", and we are not aware of any confusion which this term could create with regard to the type of word order or with regard to the grammatical and thematical organization of the sentence. The factors causing the inversion are for our purposes of greater importance, because they are operative on the level of syntax, semantics and discourse. Our goal is to account for these factors, not to distinguish different word order types based on the level where these factors work.

In a number of articles Ivanchev (1966-1978) deals with Functional Sentence Perspective and the role of theme and rheme in Bulgarian sentences. His major contribution supports Firbas' view for tripartite division in the communicative structure of a sentence: theme, transit and rheme ("transit" refers to the elements with a transitory status between given and new). Ivanchev argues that the place of the Bulgarian pronouns and the form they take corresponds to the three kinds of the information within a sentence. Therefore full forms with reduplication (мене ме/me, тебе те/you, него го/him ...) occur only as theme, full forms without reduplication (мене, тебе, него...) occur only as rheme, and the short clitic forms (ме, те, го...) occur in the transit. He also deals with the definiteness expressed by the definite article and the WO, finding that the two grammatical means have one and the same purpose in many occasions - to distinguish the new and given. After the development of an article in languages like French and English, he explains, the word order there lost its function of expressing the distinction of given and new. It therefore became only a grammatical factor which, by fixing the positions of subject, object and predicate, compensates for the loss of the noun inflection. In the case of Bulgarian, the word order remains flexible due to its close ties with other Slavic languages and especially with Russian (Ivanchev 1978: 150).

The theory of Transformational Grammar (and specifically The Revised Extended-Standard Theory and the Government-Binding Theory) form the basis of the study by Rudin (1986) on the complementizers and WH constructions in Bulgarian. She argues that while the surface SVO word order is the "most normal one", the underlying word order definitely puts the verb in initial position. The postverbal word order is very fluid, claims Rudin: "subject, direct and indirect object, not to mention adverbs and various types of prepositional phrases occur in virtually all possible combinations and orders." (Rudin 1986: 38). That is why the author does not impose any order of the postverbal elements as an underlying norm. Instead, she allows phrase structure rules to take care of the variability of the surface WO realizations. Rudin asserts that the order of the "first few constituents of a sentence actually depends not on their grammatical role (as subject, object, and so on), but rather on their discourse function" (Rudin 1986: 19).

This brief overview of well known studies on Bulgarian and Russian WO shows that two different starting points have been taken by investigators in their works. It seems that those who examined the Russian language tried to prove that its word order is not "free" by analyzing factors and conditions in which it is actually fixed, while the researchers in Bulgarian tried to explain why in fact its word order is so surprisingly "free" considering that its morphological inflection is lost.

This study is provoked by a real curiosity regarding the degree of freedom of the word order in the two language systems. We aim to show by experiments and analyses the degree to which and the conditions under which the inversion (VS) of the SV word order in Russian and Bulgarian takes place. On the basis of general linguistics (Givon, Langacker) and related studies in Russian (Sirotinina) and Bulgarian (Georgieva), we make the assumption earlier that the SV WO is the basic or prototypical WO in these two languages. We hypothesize that the change of SV to VS correlates with discourse conditions that have not yet been studied as factors of Russian and Bulgarian WO.

Although some well known studies discussed above, raised the question of the inversion between subject and verb, the previous research in both languages was primarily concerned with the position of modifier / modified or OV / VO in sentences. Our search for factors causing VS inversion in Russian and Bulgarian has as a starting point the well established view that linear structure of sentences corresponds to the theme and rheme distribution (Sirotinina, Krylova, Ivanchev, Georgieva). We take a step further to include other discourse factors which may affect WO. In the following chapter we formulate the hypotheses related to the WO inversion in Russian and Bulgarian which are to be tested.

2. Hypotheses of WO inversion in Russian and Bulgarian

As discussed above, SVO is determined as the basic, usual, unemotive type of word order for the two languages studied. It is expected then, that the informants in this study will normally use SVO in their stories. For this very reason, not the prototype, but the change of it, attracts our attention. Based on our knowledge from previous research, we also expect to find in both Russian and Bulgarian discourses a high degree of WO flexibility. And indeed, changes of the prototypical WO became evident even before the analysis of the narratives began, while they were being still collected. The question we ask is: when do speakers change the prototypical WO? The theories presented above, namely the given/new distribution, the theme/rheme realization and the possibility to distinguish between marked and unmarked WO of the sentence structure provided hypothetical answers to this question. The inevitable conclusion of the foregoing literature review is that WO is commonly understood to signal given and new information. Most of the linguistic research (Givon, Chafe, Tomlin) on topic continuity in English showed that coding of new topics in discourse is one of the functions of morphology, intonation and WO. Therefore we can assume that in the narrative structure of Bulgarian and Russian a change of WO may signal a new topic (which in our study would be a new character or a new event) in discourse. Although WO operates within the limits of the sentence, it may also be a discourse structure device: it may not only show how characters are introduced in the text and how they become central and peripheral, it might also signal the organization of the text in discourse units known as episodes or paragraphs. **Our hypotheses, then, are**

connected with the appearance of new characters and with the shifts to new events or scenes in the produced discourses.

2.2. WO inversion and theme/rheme distribution

Referring to what was already discussed for theme and rheme, we can assume that every new character in the story, when first introduced by the speaker, appears as a rheme. Interestingly enough, linguistic studies (Yokoyama 1986; Ivanchev 1978) show that in Russian, as well as in Bulgarian, the most informative constituent tends to occupy the last position in the sentence and the less important ones that do not carry new information are usually at the beginning of the sentence. In other words, theme usually precedes the rheme in the Slavic languages studied. According to this, we can expect that sentences introducing a new character will confirm the general tendency of rheme to be their last constituent. In grammatical terms, it means that the WO will be inverted from the prototype SV (where the subject or doer of the action precedes the action itself), i.e., **SV will change to VS, if the subject is a new character.** Our data show that new characters are most often introduced as sentence subjects (see 4.1.1).

2.1. WO inversion and given/new information

Taking a step beyond the limits of the sentence, it is mainly discourse structure that determines how given/new is reflected in the WO change. Speakers described not only characters, but events in which the characters participate. The information they supply about the events may also be regarded as new and given: at the places when subjects change the scene and start talking about a new action or event in the plot they obviously introduce new concepts. The logical basis of the notion of new, then, should be expanded within narrative structure to incorporate the notion of a shift to a new event in the plot. It should be possible for the hearers to distinguish different episodes or paragraphs in the discourses produced by the speakers. Our prediction is that **inverted WO will also be a signal for initiation of a new discourse unit that describes a new event.** In other words, the domain of establishing given and new for the analysis is the whole narrative, the domain of its reflection is the sentence. The hypotheses tested here relate then both to the structure of the discourse and to the structure of the sentence.

Since the narratives of our study are based on a picture set, we expect that the beginning of any picture as well as the beginning of any episode in the narratives may be marked by WO inversion. Originally, we anticipated that the episodes and pictures will be introduced in the discourses by one and the same sentences. The linguistic data, however, showed that the number of episodes composed by the subjects was higher than the number of the pictures provided. The subjects created more episodes while describing the pictures, because they need to connect, explain and substantiate the main events drawn in the pictures. This resulted in the separation of the picture and episode beginnings as two independent factors in our analyses (see also 5.1 & 6.1). We can clarify then the hypothesis stated above, that **episode beginning or picture beginning would involve WO inversion, since they present a shift to a new information unit in discourse.**

2.3. WO inversion and marked/unmarked alternatives

The question of WO inversion can be related to the theory of markedness: the existence of a basic WO type is assumed for every language and the variations from that "most common" WO are treated as marked. Since the type SV is considered as prototypical (basic, more frequent and easy-to-process) WO in Russian and Bulgarian, the inverted VS WO could be considered as the marked structure used with special functions. In our hypotheses these special functions are defined as new character, new episode and new picture introduction in discourse.

It is generally expected that the marked member of any opposition is more restricted in its distribution. Although our working assumption has been that the VS WO would be used less frequently than SV WO in Bulgarian and Russian discourses, it will be one of our secondary goals to confirm that **in the specific contexts examined in our study (introduction of a new character, new episode or new picture) the marked WO (VS) will be more frequent.**

In summary, in the study we test three hypotheses related to the WO change in Russian and Bulgarian:

Hypothesis #1: The introduction of a new character in discourse tends to be marked by an inverted WO of VS type, therefore VS WO will be used more frequently than SV WO in sentences with new characters.

Hypothesis #2: WO inversion tends to occur at the beginning of description of every new picture; in other words, the shift from one picture to another in the narratives tends to be marked with a VS WO.

Hypothesis #3: The VS WO tends to occur in the episode-initial sentences of the narratives, as a special marker of a new unit in the discourse structure. Therefore VS WO is used more frequently than SV WO at episode beginnings in discourse.

3. The experiment

As a pilot study a small group of native Bulgarian and Russian speakers were asked to tell a story by looking at a set of six pictures presenting a popular folk tale. The discourses produced were immediately transcribed at the moment of speaking. The use of a tape recorder was intentionally avoided initially, since some speakers felt uncomfortable speaking into a microphone. (If telling the story was causing any discomfort to the speakers, it would have discouraged our research as well.) The statistical results showed tendencies of WO change which were in accordance with the original hypotheses that WO inversion would be used to mark a new character, a new picture or a new episode in discourse, and our study continued by collecting more discourses and further applying statistical analysis.

We tried to make the speakers relaxed and talkative, under very natural conditions. For the purposes of the main study the technique of collecting was changed to tape-recording, but each person was still asked if the microphone would bother him/her.

The situations of narrative collection were pleasant and in almost all the cases the informants felt excited about telling the story. Inviting guests at home, going on a picnic, having coffee at a quiet place, attending the Russian Club in downtown Edmonton, and meeting at the University of Alberta were the various contexts in which the narratives were collected. Some people wanted to have company while telling their stories, others preferred to talk to the tape recorder alone. Any condition was accepted as long as the person was going to talk in a natural manner.

3.1. Informants

All the informants had native ability in Russian or Bulgarian. Some of them never learned a foreign language, and were monolingual at the time we approached them; some had English as a second language, as residents of Canada. Among the 25 Bulgarians selected for the experiment 9 persons lived in Canada for 3 to 5 years. Among the 25 Russians selected, 3 speakers spent 3 years in Canada and 4 have lived there longer (15 years or so), but in all cases the only language spoken at home by them is Russian.

In each group, six speakers were eventually eliminated before the final analyses were performed. The following comments refer to these groups of 19 subjects.

Informants were found among different age and sex groups. The youngest Bulgarian speaker was 14, the oldest was 55; the youngest Russian speaker was 20, the oldest was 65. In both sets the core representative group consists of people between 30 and 40 year of age (11 Bulgarian and 8 Russian speakers belong to this age group). Of the Bulgarian informants 9 were men and 10 were women; of the Russian informants 7 were men and 12 were women. The participants have different professions and education, and the high school diploma is the minimum educational level completed by 90 % of them. no significant sociolinguistic variation was discovered.

3.2. Method

Every speaker was asked to look at the same set of 6 pictures and to tell a story based on them. A short time to think was given to everyone asked to participate in the experiment. The pictures were in front of the speaker during the short preparatory time, as well as during the time of talking. Everyone was encouraged to look at the pictures while telling the story, no matter whether s/he knew or remembered the folk tale or not. Every effort was made to emphasize that the experiment did not involve the testing of the subject's memory abilities, intellectual potential, richness of vocabulary, or any other personal characteristics. The subjects understood that they were free to correct themselves, to repeat, to go back, or to change the story. Informants were free also to change the popular version of the folk tale, if they wished, but still they had to follow the sequence of events represented by the pictures. The changes which speakers made did not interfere with our task of analyzing WO inversion. We considered as first entry of a character the first mention of it no matter if later the speaker changed or corrected the particular sentence where it occurred. The same method was applied in selecting the new picture or new episode beginnings: the sentences that reflected a new picture or a new event were included in our data as they originally occurred. It is very important to say that the speakers never changed the WO originally used, when occasionally they went back and repeated or corrected themselves.

The pictures (Appendix 1) trace the story about a Wolf and a Fox, the two traditional inhabitants of the folk-forest used in Slavic folklore. In Bulgarian the tale is known with the title Болен здрав носи, in Russian it is called Битый небитого везёт. In both cultures the title convey the message that the one who should be taken care of, because s/he is sick, is actually taking care of the one who is perfectly well (in the folk tale, this is realized as follows: the one who was neither sick nor had been beaten was carried by the one who was in real pain).

Picture #1 shows an old man sitting in a cart (wagon) pulled by a horse. The cart is full of fish. There is a fox on the road right in front of the approaching cart;

Picture #2 shows the fox throwing fish out of the cart, but the old man does not see this;

Picture #3 shows the fox and the wolf talking around a fire; a string of fish is hanging over their heads;

Picture #4 shows the wolf sitting on the frozen river (or lake), with his tail submerged in a hole in the ice. In the background there are a few houses with smoke rising from their chimneys;

Picture #5 shows the wolf being chased by four dogs and two peasants. He is running away with only part of a tail;

Picture #6 shows the wolf carrying the fox on his back.

The story, in its most popular version, can be told as follows:

> It was winter. The Fox was hungry, and, luckily, **she** [2] saw an old man who was going home after a good day of fishing. She smelled the fish and made a plan to steal it. She lay down on the road along which the cart with the old man was going. She pretended she was dead. The old man felt he was the luckiest man in the world - he not only would take home all the fish that he caught, but also a nice warm fur coat for his wife. He stopped the horses, put the Fox into the cart and continued his way home.
>
> The Fox began quietly to throw fish after fish on the road and when the cart was empty, she herself jumped out, gathered the fish and took them all to her home.
>
> With or without invitation the Wolf came to the Fox's house. He saw the fish and asked where they came from. "I caught it in the river" the Fox lied to him. "Go there, make a hole in the ice" (it was winter) "and put your tail into it. The fish will bite your tail."
>
> The wolf went to the river and did exactly as the fox had told him. He stayed there and waited for a long, long time, until the hole froze over and his tail got stuck in the ice.

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[2] inspite of the fact that English uses he for fox we are using she, because it is the tradition both in Russian and Bulgarian.

> Suddenly dogs and people from the village came. The dogs were angry, and the people were frightening; they had big sticks in their hands, ready to beat the Wolf. The terrified Wolf struggled harder and harder to get his tail free and run away. Finally he managed to escape, but half of his tail was left in the frozen river.
>
> He met the Fox and began complaining about his misfortune. The only comfort he found was to carry the Fox on his shoulders. This is the way the last picture shows the two characters.

A major episode from the folk tale was missing from the picture story:

> While the wolf was waiting on the frozen river, the fox was anticipating trouble with the wolf after he followed her instructions. She went to the village, found some flour (or in some versions dough) and spread it over her head. This was going to be her proof that she got into a bigger trouble than the wolf. She would say that while the wolf was on the river she got beaten almost to death by the villagers and her brain was leaking out. So, what then would be the loss of a tail, moreover of only half a tail, compared to the damage she received?!

There are other details of the folk tale missing from the pictured story. For instance, it is not clear how the fox got into the cart, nor how she collected the fish, nor how she got on the wolf's shoulders. In some cases the informants filled in the story with details from memory, in other cases they made up some solutions. The most interesting ideas were connected with the explanation how the fox ended up being carried by the wolf, since it included the largest gap in the sequence of the pictures.

Whereas the speakers' filling in the missing points with their own ideas is a very interesting phenomenon, it presents a methodological problem for this study. The pictures were supposed to coincide with episode boundaries in our analyses of the discourse structure. Any time that the story tellers went beyond the information presented by the pictures, i.e., when they talked about events which were not in the pictures, new episodes were involved, the beginning of which very often did not coincide with a new picture. The structure of the discourse thus became more complicated for analysis. We encountered more episodes than picture beginnings and decided to distinguish and test them as two different factors of WO change (see also 2.1.,5.1., & 6.1).

In all, 25 taped narratives in each language were collected. They were subsequently transliterated word for word and checked for features of intonation and rhythm (see 8.3.1, 9.3.1, 9.9.)

Some of the narratives turned out to be so short that they hardly made any sense of the events in the pictures. Some were so long that put together most of the rest would have been equal in length to only one of them. Both types were discarded: the former did not include all the characters and events necessary for the analysis, while the second type included so many events that were not in the pictures that they created discourse structure different from what the picture set presented.

Another three stories were also excluded from the experimental analyses. Their authors (two Bulgarians and one Russian) used an invariant SV type of WO. Since the main task of our analysis was to test hypothetical factors conditioning WO change, these data were unusable.

The remaining subjects in each of the language groups showed surprisingly little variation in their responses to the different experimental conditions. This justified treating them as relatively homogeneous groups in our Chi-square tests, rather than doing individual statistics for each subject. Curiously, the two Bulgarian informants with invariant WO were both from northeast Bulgaria. They were unknown to one another, one living in Canada, the other in Bulgaria. However, since the dialect studies of this area give no indication of fixed WO being one of its characteristics, and our small number of informants would render any statistics unreliable, we only mention this as something may warrant further investigation.

In the end, our experimental analysis was based on two sets of 19 Russian and 19 Bulgarian discourses.

4. The "New Character" Hypothesis

Language production among other things involves people's ideas of objects, events and properties. These are the concepts that are expressed correspondingly in the type of noun phrases, verb phrases and Adjective phrases. The set of pictures shown to the speakers of this experiment also included the objects, events and properties that represent a popular folk tale. When the informants talked about main characters, they used nouns or noun phrases to name them. Most often the nouns introducing new participants were sentence subjects. Only occasionally (22 instances of 135) was the first entry of a character encoded as an object of the sentence. It was normally necessary then to look only for two types of WO in the sentences that contained new participants: SV or VS.

To find support for the hypothesis that the inverted WO (i.e., VS) is preferably used when a new participant in the discourse is introduced, we had to take account of all the sentences which introduced new characters in the narratives, noting how many of them had VS and how many had SV WO. Statistical analysis would then determine whether the inverted WO is a device that marks new character introduction in discourse.

4.1. Data selection for the *new character hypothesis*

4.1.1. Discourse participants

The characters in the picture story are : an old man, a fox, a wolf, two peasants and four dogs, and a horse. Of them, the horse was mentioned in only one Bulgarian narrative and in none of the Russian discourses. For this reason we excluded this participant from our analyses, assuming that the speakers had either not noticed or forgotten it, and that it therefore could not be considered even as a peripheral character.

A little more attention was drawn to the dogs in the pictures. Out of 10 first-mentioned occurrences in the Bulgarian narratives, they were introduced as sentence objects 3 times, 3 times as sentence subjects in SV sentences, and 4 times as subjects in VS sentences. In 2 of the latter cases the dogs were one of the constituents in a compound noun phrase (NP), i.e., they occurred as subjects together with the peasants: Минали селяни и кучета (There came peasants and dogs). In the same way, as part of a compound NP, dogs occur in 5 VS sentences in the Russian narratives. In another 4 sentences they alone play the role of the subjects (in 2 cases with inverted WO, and in 2 cases with SV WO). Dogs are introduced as objects in only one of the Russian discourses. In both Russian and Bulgarian exactly 9 speakers did not mention the dogs as participants in their narratives.

Only 3 Russian and 2 Bulgarian subjects did not talk about the peasants in this story. The old man, the fox and the wolf, being the main characters in the tale, were not omitted from any of the discourses produced. The first mention of the old man is as a subject in each one of the stories. The wolf occurs as sentence object only in the Russian text group (on 4 occasions). The fox shows a very high degree of objectivization due to the way in which the first picture presents her, i.e., the fox is lying on the road in front of an approaching wagon. This seems to be why a very typical introduction of the fox in the text is The old man saw a fox on the road. Five out of 19 cases in Russian and 9 out of 19 cases in Bulgarian are of this type.

Let us summarize the WO distribution over sentences with the first mention of a character as sentence subject. The old man occurs as a subject in 12 Bulgarian and 11 Russian sentences with inverted WO. This leaves 7 and 8 cases in each language respectively in which the old man is introduced in SV type of a sentence (see table 1A).

The wolf, when mentioned for the first time in the discourse, plays the role of a subject in 18 Bulgarian and 12 Russian inverted sentences. In the remaining 1 Bulgarian and 3 Russian narratives, where the wolf is also a sentence subject, the WO is SV.

WO type Character	VS Russ	VS Bulg	SV Russ	SV Bulg
old man	11	12	8	7
fox	9	5	5	5
wolf	12	18	3	1
peasants	9	14	7	3
dogs	7 (5 *)[3]	4 (2 *)	2	3
total	48 (43*)	53 (51*)	25	19

Table 1A: Characters Introduced in the Discourses as subjects

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[3] The asterisks marks the number of the cases in which the dogs occurred as Subjects together with the peasants in the narratives. While deciding how to account for these cases we take into consideration the following: in order to show the exact number of all the participants in the story and their syntactic role, we have to count dogs and peasants as separate entries. However, in doing so, we have to double the number of sentences in which these characters occur, as if they occur one at a time, in order to keep the statistical proportion between the participants and the sentences. Therefore, we present the two numbers in the table above to keep it consistent with the ideal expectations and the calculations below, but further in the analysis we work with the actual number of sentences regardless of the fact that in some of them there are complex Subjects that consist of two new characters.

The fox occurs as a sentence subject 10 times in Bulgarian and 14 times in Russian sentences, which are evenly distributed as 5 VS and 5 SV in Bulgarian, and as 9 VS vs. 5 SV sentences in Russian.

Among those who did introduce the peasants, 9 Russians and 14 Bulgarians made them subjects in VS sentences. Of the remaining 7 Russian and 3 Bulgarian narratives the peasants are subjects in SV sentences.

To sum up, the fox, the wolf, the old man, the peasants and the dogs, when introduced for the first time in the discourse, occurred as sentence subjects in altogether 145 cases.

New characters were introduced as sentence objects in another 22 cases. These 22 cases are excluded from the analyses that follow, since they do not give any information about WO change from SV to VS due to their different grammatical role. We only present them for reference in the table below:

Character / language	Russ	Bulg
old man	-	-
fox	5	9
wolf	4	-
peasants	-	-
dogs	1	3
total	10	12

Table 1B: Characters Introduced in the Discourses as Objects

The total number of sentences with a first mention of character is as expected, given the number of speakers, the number of characters depicted, and the number of characters omitted from the narratives. There are 5 main characters in the pictures and 38 informants (19 for each language). Ideally one would expect each character to be introduced in every speaker's narrative, i.e., that we would have 5 x 38 = 190 items. However, we observed that there were 23 cases in which some participants were never introduced (the dogs - 18 of 38; and occasionally the peasants - 5 of 38). We also subtract from the total number expected the 22 cases in which specific characters are introduced as objects, ending up with 145 cases in which a new character occurs as a sentence subject.

4.1.2. Sentence selection

Since the hypothesis is that the first introduction of a character in the discourse would be marked with a VS word order, we had to eliminate all other factors known from theoretical studies to cause WO change. Therefore, all passive sentences, all existential and all subjectless sentences, were excluded from the study. Although this phenomenon has not been exhaustively studied, the tendency toward fixed WO in these instances seems clear.

Sentences introducing direct speech in the narratives also showed a tendency toward fixed WO. For instance, if a quotation followed the introductory remarks, the WO of the introductory sentence was almost exclusively SV:

Волк спросил: Где ты, Кума рыбку наловила?" / The wolf asked: "Where did you, godmother [fox], the fish catch ?"[4]

Лисицата му отговорила: На реката, вълчо, на реката налових рибата. / The fox answered: "On the river, wolf, on the river [I] caught the fish."

If the general text followed the direct speech, then the WO changed to VS. For example:

Где ты, лиса, достала рыбу? - спрашивает волк. / "Where did you, fox, take the fish from?" asks the wolf.

Отиди на реката и налови с опашката си, казала му Кума Лиса. / "Go to the river and catch with tail your [your tale]" said to him the godmother fox.

When the author's words are inserted in the direct speech of the wolf or the fox, the WO also tends to become fixed as VS :

А я, говорит лиса, нашла в льду прорубь, села около неё, опустила в неё хвост и таким образом наловила много рыбы. / And I, says the fox, found in the ice a hole, sat beside it, put into it [my] tail and in this way [I] caught a lot of fish.

Е, Кума Лисо, казал вълкът, дали не мога и аз да опитам така да си наловя риба? / Well, godmother fox, asked the wolf, couldn't I also try to catch some fish like you?

As a result of the above, all sentences which introduce the direct speech of the participants in discourses have been excluded from our statistical analyses.

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[4] Given the importance of word order, the translations provided are into idiomatic English except that the WO of the original Bulgarian or Russian is maintained for illustrative purposes. Where the resulting translation is ambiguous or unclear, a explanation is provided in parentheses.

4.2. Results

With the above restrictions, our data includes all the simple[4] , active, declarative, sentences with an overt subject, either as full noun or as Pronoun used by the informants in this study. The Russian speakers used 358 sentences of this type, the Bulgarians 341. Their distribution with regard to WO is as follows:

total	SV	VS
358	279 (77.9%)	79 (22.0%)

Table 2: WO Distribution in the Russian Sentences

total	SV	VS
341	243 (71.3%)	98 (28.7%)

Table 3: WO Distribution in the Bulgarian Sentences

It is evident, then, that the most frequent WO type for both Russian and Bulgarian speakers is SV. The result coincides with the expectation that the unmarked, unemotive WO type preferred in discourse structure, when no special function is assigned, is SV. (see 1.2., 1.3.3. & 2.3.).

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[4] The total number of complex sentences encountered in discourses was limited: only 10 in Russian and 19 in Bulgarian. If there were overt Subjects in the main and subordinate clause, we included both in our data set counting them as simple sentences. A clause where the Subject was omitted was excluded from our data, regardless of the fact whether it functioned as a main or subordinate clause.

More important for testing our hypothesis is to analyze the group of sentences which in fact introduce a new participant in the discourses. As found in 4.1.1., there are 145 entries of new characters in the Russian and Bulgarian narratives. Seven of these entries were made in complex subjects which results in 138 sentences that actually introduce 145 new participants. Out of the total 138, 94 or 68%, are sentences of VS type. In other words, new participants occur in the discourses in almost 70% of the cases in a "marked" structure, i.e., in an inverted (VS) WO sentence type, whereas in approximately 30% of the cases they occur in the unmarked SV type.

This approximate proportion holds for the two individual languages studied, although it is a little higher for Bulgarian than for Russian. Thus, all the new characters in the Bulgarian discourses occur in 51 (72.8%) VS sentences and 19 (27.1%) SV sentences, while all the new characters in the Russian discourses occur in 43 (63.2%) VS and 25 (36.8%) SV sentences.

The numbers above show a strong tendency for a new character introduction to be preferably marked with VS WO type in both languages. It supports our initial hypothesis that a new participant is a factor of the WO inversion in the discourse structure of Bulgarian and Russian, although the statistical significance of it remains to be tested.

4.3. Statistical analysis

We present here the distribution of SV and VS WO over the sentences that employ the special function of introducing a new participant, and compare them to those SV or VS sentences which do not have this function as well as to the total numbers of sentences used.

The tables below summarize the results, where "new character" means the first mention of a participant in the discourse, and "old character" means any noun phrase, or pronominal that is the second, third or any other mention of the same participant in the plot (percentages are given in the brackets):

sentences	new character	old character	total
VS	43 (12.01%)	36 (10.06%)	79 (22.07%)
SV	25 (6.98%)	254 (70.95%)	279 (77.93%)
total	68 (18.99%)	290 (81.01%)	358 (100.00%)

Table 4: New/Old Character in the Russian VS/SV Sentences

(Actual Distribution)

Since we are dealing with non-parametric data expressed as frequency of occurrence of alternative WO types, we use a CHI-square (X^2) test in the statistical analysis. As part of the test we can calculate what the expected distribution of the two types of WO in discourse would be, if they played a proportional role in expressing a new or old character. The expectation in such cases is that each WO will be used with the function of first mention of a character in one and the same proportion to the total numbers of SV or VS sentences used in discourse, and in proportion to the overall ratio of new to old characters. In other words, if VS and SV sentences equally contribute to the introduction of a new character, the numbers below present how many sentences of each type should involve a new character:

sentences	new character	old character	total
VS	15 (3.81%)	64 (17.88%)	79 (22.07%)
SV	53 (15.18%)	226 (63.13%)	279 (77.93%)
total	68 (18.99%)	290 (81.01%)	358 (100.00%)

Table 5: New/Old Character in the Russian VS/SV Sentences
(Expected Distribution)

From these values we can calculate Chi-square to determine if there is a significant relationship between new/old character and WO. To show which WO relates most to the expression of new or old character, we can present the actual contribution that each cell in the table brings to the total Chi-square value. This is done by applying the formula:

$X^2 = \Sigma \frac{(O - E)^2}{E}$, where O means "observed" number and E means "expected" number for each cell.

sentences	new character	old character	total
VS	**52.26**	12.25	64.51
SV	14.79	3.47	18.26
total	67.05	15.72	**82.77**

Chi-square (1, N=358) = 82.77 p < .0000

Table 6: New/Old Character & VS/SV Chi-square Results in Russian

Because the overall Chi-square value is highly significant with df = 1, we must conclude that the variable of WO type and the expression of new/old character are not independent.

The results from the Bulgarian data also show that many more VS than SV sentences involve a new participant:

sentences	new character	old character	total
VS	51 (14.96%)	47 (13.78%)	98 (28.74%)
SV	19 (5.57%)	224 (65.69%)	243 (71.26%)
total	70 (20.53%)	271 (79.47%)	341 (100.00%)

Table 7: New/Old Character in the Bulgarian VS/SV Sentences.

(Actual Distribution)

The expected values for the purposes of the Chi-square test are:.

sentences	new character	old character	total
VS	20 (5.87%)	78 (22.87%)	98 (28.74%)
SV	50 (14.66%)	193 (56.60%)	243 (71.26%)
total	70 (20.53%)	271 (79.47%)	341 (100.00%)

Table 8: New/Old Character in the Bulgarian VS/SV Sentences

(Expected Distribution)

The final results of the Chi-square test from the Bulgarian expected and observed results are given below:

sentences	new character	old character	total
VS	48.05	12.32	60.37
SV	19.22	4.98	24.20
total	67.27	17.3	84.57

Chi-square (1, N=341) = 84.57 $p < .0000$

Table 9: New/Old Character & VS/SV Chi-square Results in Bulgarian

Again the Chi-square value is highly significant, indicating that the WO choice depends on whether the character is old or new.

A glance through the above statistics is enough to detect an evident tendency: the VS structure is used with a considerably higher frequency when new characters are introduced, and SV structures are only very occasionally used for the same purpose.

Thus, for the Russian discourse structure the proportion of new to old characters and VS to SV sentences would justify an expectation that new characters will be introduced by 53 SV sentences and by 15 VS sentences, yet the real results show 25 SV vs 43 VS sentences.

Similarly, for the Bulgarian discourses we could expect the distribution of new characters over 50 SV sentences and 20 VS sentences, while the real distribution in the collected discourses was 19 SV vs. 51 VS sentences.

4.4. Conclusions

On the basis of all the above we can conclude that there is a strong tendency with regard to the introduction of a new character in discourse of the two Slavic languages, namely: the new characters tend to occur in sentences with an inverted VS WO.

In the samples analyzed here, this tendency is confirmed in several ways. First, out of total 68 Russian sentences that actually had first mention of a participant, only 25 (36.7%) were of the SV type while 43 (63.2%), almost double, were of the VS type. Second, out of total 279 SV sentences in Russian only 25 (8.9%), or one ninth had a function of introducing a new character, while out of total 79 VS sentences 43 (54.4%) were employed in this function (which is more than a half). Third, for the total number of sentences that were used by the speakers, as well as for the total number of possible new participants in the picture set, all the other conditions being equal, statistical expectations were that SV should have occurred in 47% more sentences with a new participant than it actually did, i.e., in 53 rather than 25 sentences, and VS should have introduced 35% fewer sentences with a new character than it actually did, i.e., in 15 vs the actual 43.

The same threefold reading applies to the results of the Bulgarian data. First, we found there that out of total 70 sentences introducing a new character only 19 (27.1%) were SV, while 51 (72,8%), almost three times as many, were VS. Second, out of total 243 of SV sentences in Bulgarian only 19 (7.8%), or approximately one eighth, had the function of introducing a new participant, while out of total 98 VS sentences more than a half, i. e. 51 (52%), had exactly this function. Third, on the basis of total sentences used by the informants and the number of characters to be introduced in their stories, we should have expected 38% more than actually occurred to be the SV type with a new participant (comp. 19 actual vs. 50 expected), and 39% less than actually occurred to be the VS type (comp. 51 actual vs. 20 expected).

All of the above is summarized in the highly significant ($p < .0000$) Chi-square values for both languages. It is evident, then, that new character introduction is a factor in the WO change in Russian and Bulgarian. The inverted VS WO shows high degree of preference among the speakers every time they start talking about a new character.

5. The "New Picture" Hypothesis

Although our hypothesis about the new character WO change in the discourse structure of Bulgarian and Russian is proved already, we further analyzed the textual data, seeking out all the other potential factors which could cause a change of the WO. We are especially concerned with the rest of the VS sentences, which are given in the tables above under the title "old character". In other words, the VS type of WO is mainly employed for the introduction of a participant, and yet there are cases when the VS WO is used when the character is already known, talked about, or "old" in the narratives. What, in these circumstances, would be the factor or factors involved in the WO inversion?

First, we try to answer the above question by hypothesizing that the shift into a new picture in the discourses may cause a WO inversion. In the ideal case the new picture would coincide with the new episode and, in this sense, with an episode boundary. But this was not always the case. The folk tale was presented in a series of 6 pictures which were the only basis for the speakers to create the main episodes of their narratives. The textual data showed that the informants used some episodes to supplement the events in the picture set: they either filled in missing information between two successive pictures, or set up a separate episode within the frame of a single picture, when the picture reflected significantly different events. For these reasons we had to treat the beginning of a picture and the beginning of an episode as two distinct (though perhaps related) factors for WO change.

There is thus no one-to-one correspondence between the structure of the narratives and the picture set. However, tendencies toward some frequent patterns were noticed and further confirmed by statistical analysis.

There were some difficulties in fixing the boundaries for each picture, since the pictures were shown to the speakers as a set. If every speaker had seen one picture at a time, this difficulty might not have occurred, but this method would have resulted in a picture description text, not in discourse production. Therefore we had to apply a very strict rule while searching for the beginning of every picture in the recorded narratives: namely, the first sentence that described any event from a given picture was treated as the beginning of this same picture.

5.1. Difficulties with defining the data

In applying the method described above we had to make some artificial cuts and formal divisions in the structure of the narratives produced. For example, the first picture shows the old man sitting on a wagon full of fish. He has his back turned to the viewers and he is facing a fox in the background of the picture. Many informants started their narrative by: Возвращался дед с рыбалки / The old man was returning from fishing. But some others began the story with: Поехал дед за рыбу / An old man went fishing. Because the real action drawn on the picture is the old man coming back, rather than going to fish, we had to treat as the first entry of this particular picture only the sentence with the verb "return"- "возвращался".

The judgments with regard to this first picture introduction in the Bulgarian narratives were even more difficult. Here the speakers commonly use the sentence: Отишъл дядото/дядо за риба; or: Тръгнал дядо за риба, where the first means: The/an old man went fishing; the latter means: An old man started going/headed to fish. Since in the first case the grammatical tense of the verb is perfect, and the result of the action fishing is present, we considered this sentence as picture initial. However, we did not consider the second version of the same sentence as picture initial for the reasons just mentioned before, with regard to the Russian data, i.e., the event is not in the picture.

Another example of the formal principle applied involves the second picture in the set. There the fox is throwing fish out of the cart hoping for the old man not to see her. Therefore, only Russian sentences of the type: Лисица выбросила рыбу из воза (The fox threw the fish off the cart), were considered introductory for this picture. In this case, the majority of sentences that marked the shift to this picture like: Лисица вскочила на воз (The fox jumped on the cart), were excluded from the analysis simply because this particular action is not given in the picture. The same problem occurred in the analysis of Bulgarian narratives. There, two different types of sentences marked the shift to this second picture: Метнал/хвърлил дядото лисицата в каруцата (The old man threw the fox in the cart); and: Скочила лисицата в каруцата (The fox jumped on the cart). Since the pictures do not show how the fox got into the cart, we do not assign to any of these sentences a picture- initial function.

Further, an arbitrary choice was made among the sentences introducing the last picture, where the wolf carries the fox on his shoulders. This very action was treated as a mark of the picture, rather than the action that logically preceded this, namely, that the wolf and the fox met again.

It is obvious, then, that our very formal approach had as its goal to segment the story into main events which were represented in the pictures.

As a result, many sentences that actually made connections between the events in the story were not counted, since they described actions based on the assumptions of the speakers but not pictured visually for them. (Many of these "extra" sentences are included in the data for testing the *new episode hypothesis* in chapter 6.)

There are 6 pictures in our set and 19 speakers of each language. The ideal case would be if each picture were introduced in every narrative by just one sentence. Let us see now what the results are.

5.2. Analysis of the Russian data

Of all 114 sentences that could possibly introduce a new picture, there are 31 in the Russian texts without an overt subject. These were mainly sentences related to the third picture, which shows the fox and the wolf talking against a background of a string of fish that is hanging from the ceiling to dry. Since Picture # 2 shows the fox throwing fish out of the old's man cart, speakers usually connected these two events by a sentence of the type: Потом лиса собрала всю эту рыбу, принесла её домой и повесила сушиться. (Then the fox collected the fish, brought it home and hung it up to dry). Of all the actions described in these sentences, the only one seen on the picture is the fish hanging on the string. Therefore this was the sentence treated as marking Picture # 3, namely: повесила сушиться (hung up to dry). Unfortunately, as in the example just cited, if no subject occurs, we can not judge the WO of the main constituents. We can only guess what the position of the subject would have been, but we really do not want to work on the basis of guesses.

Thus, we examine only those of the Russian sentences which have overt subjects, when testing the *new picture hypothesis*. The data provided us with 39 VS type and 44 SV sentences. Compared again to the total number of VS and SV sentences, these are:

sentences	new picture	old picture	total
VS	39 (10.90%)	40 (11.17%)	79 (22.07%)
SV	44 (12.29%)	235 (65.64%)	279 (77.93%)
total	83 *(23.18%)	275 (76.82%)	358 (100.00%)

*Total 83 = 114 - 31 subjectless Ss

Table 10: New/Old Picture in the Russian VS/SV Sentences

(Actual Distribution)

It is evident from the above data that the Russian speakers employed the VS word order in 10.90% and the SV WO in 12.29% of the cases when they started talking about a new picture This means that the two WO types are almost equally distributed with regard to the function tested, and that the SV is the slightly preferred WO for a picture shift. The percentages within the group of VS type are also almost equal: 10.90% VS sentences introduce a new picture, and 11.17% VS sentences are not associated with the beginning of a new picture.

On the other hand, the CHI square test shows that the expected number of VS sentences is approximately one half the number of VS sentences actually used in the discourses, while the SV type could be expected to occur in 47 % more sentences of picture beginning than it actually did (viz., 18 vs. 39 VS sentences and 65 vs. 44 SV):

sentences	new picture	old picture	total
VS	18 (5.02 %)	61 (17.05%)	79 (22.07%)
SV	65 (18.16%)	214 (59.77%)	279 (77.93%)
total	83 (23.19%)	275 (76.81%)	358 (100.00%)

Table 11: New/Old Picture in the Russian VS/SV Sentences

(Expected Distribution)

Table 12 shows which WO type contributes most to the *new picture hypothesis*. Here again, as we did in the test on the *new character hypothesis*, we apply the statistical comparison between the expected and observed frequencies. This method also shows the contributions of each cell to the total value of Chi-square.:

sentences	new picture	old picture	total
VS	24.50	7.23	31.73
SV	6.78	2.06	8.84
total	31.28	9.29	40.57

Table 12: New/Old Picture & VS/SV Chi-square Results in Russian

Chi-square (1, N = 358) = 40.57 $p < .0000$

5.2.1. Comparison of the results from the new character and new picture tests

The Chi-square test shows that both new character and new picture are significant factors in eliciting marked WO. This suggests that it is Novelty (of picture or character) which is associated with marked WO. When compared to the results from the new character test (see the tables below), the results from the new picture test show VS preference to a different degree.

total NEW Character	of them VS	of them SV
68	43 (63.2%)	25 (36.8%)
total of NEW Picture	of them VS	of them SV
83	39 (47.0%)	44 (53.0%)

Table 13: VS/SV Distribution of Sentences with New Character or New Picture in Russian

total VS sentences	NEW character	same character
79	43 (54.4%)	36 (45.6%)
total VS sentences	New picture	same picture
79	39 (49.4%)	40 (50.6%)

Table 14: New Character or New Picture Function of the Russian VS Sentences

A comparison of the SV sentences with regard to the new Character function and the new picture function gives the following: out of total 279 sentences, 44 introduce a new picture and 25 sentences introduce a new character. This means that the speakers use SV type more often in the beginning of a new picture than for introducing a character, namely 15.8% vs 9.0%. At the same time, the VS type does not show too much variation in its functioning as a new participant marker or as a new picture marker: in the first case we encountered 43 VS sentences, in the latter 39. The difference in capacity of the two tested factors is accounted for by the different Chi-square numbers also: 82.77 for the *new character hypothesis* and 39.02 for the *new picture hypothesis*, even though each factor is highly significant ($p < .0000$).

5.3. Analysis of the Bulgarian data

Our way of determining the picture-initial sentence eliminated quite a number of sentences bridging the gap to the next picture. They were in many cases those that connect the story, and that keep the participants in the narratives active in the minds of the hearers by renaming (reintroducing) them as grammatical subjects. This explains why we encountered so many subjectless sentences as picture-initial in both groups of narratives. From the total 114 sentences that could introduce a new picture, 41 in Bulgarian do not have an overt subject. The subjects are used in the previous sentences of the narratives and were not considered in the analysis here because the actions they described are not in the picture. See the following examples:

Когато изхвърлила всичката риба,	When [she] threw off all the fish,
лисицата скочила от каруцата,	the fox jumped out of the cart,
събрала рибата.	[and] collected the fish.
После си отишла вкъщи да я суши.	Then [she] went home to dry it.

The only action that is visualized in the picture is the drying of the fish, and the sentence describing it appears to be subjectless. The same is observed in the example below:

Само че лисицата не била умряла,	But the fox was not dead,
а само се преструвала на такава.	[she] only pretended to be [such]
Видяла че дядото не я гледа,	[she] saw that the old man did not look at her,
станала	stood up
и почнала една по една	and began one by one
да изхвърля рибите на пътя.	to throw the fish on the road.

This picture only shows the fox sitting on the cart and throwing fish off it. Again the sentence describing the action from the picture is in the end of this portion of the narrative, and the subject is omitted.

These examples are typical and only show that a number of the subjectless sentences were picture-initial, but were rejected from our data by the approach we adopted in making our selection. The rest of the sentences that we consider picture initial are divided in the two groups, VS and SV type, as follows:

sentences	new picture	old picture	total
VS	32 (9.38%)	66 (19.36%)	98 (28.74%)
SV	41 (12.02%)	202 (59.24%)	243 (71.26%)
total	73* (21.41%)	268 (78.59%)	341 (100.00%)

*Total 73 = 114-41 subjectless Ss

Table 15: New/Old Picture in the Bulgarian VS/SV Sentences

(Actual Distribution)

The relation of the numbers presented above seems to show that the *new picture hypothesis* does not strongly support the WO inversion. In total 73 sentences that are related to the new picture shift, 32 are VS and 41 are SV. This distribution does not seem to show the inverted WO as especially loaded with the function of new picture introduction. In fact, the SV WO prevails as a type in picture-initial position: we can see that the SV fraction in introducing new picture is bigger than the VS one. On the other hand, when we look at the proportion of VS to SV sentences which encode same picture information (66 to 202), this proportion is much higher when encoding the concept of new picture (32 to 41). Thus we can say that there is something to the claim that

VS does relate to new picture. Whether this is a significant relationship remains to be determined by our Chi-square test.

Let us see what the expected distribution of the VS and SV word order would be, if each WO type contributed proportionally to the new picture introduction. Here as before, we use the Chi-square test:

sentences	new picture	old picture	total
VS	21 (6.16%)	77 (22.58%)	98 (28.74%)
SV	52 (15.25%)	191 (56.01%)	243 (71.26%)
total	73 (21.41%)	268 (78.59%)	341 (100.00%)

Table 16: New/Old Picture in the Bulgarian VS/SV Sentences

(Expected Distribution)

If the new picture function were independent of WO, we could expect 11 VS sentences less and 11 SV sentences more than the subjects actually used. Let us see now if these numbers are significant for our analysis or not. Applying the Chi-square test to this data shows that they do not behave randomly, but they occur with a statistically significant tendency. Consider the data in the table below:

sentences	new picture	old picture	total
VS	5.76	1.57	7.33
SV	2.33	0.63	2.96
total	8.09	2.20	10.29

Table 17: New/Old Picture & VS/SV Chi-square Results in Bulgarian

Chi-square (1, N = 341) = 10.29 p < .0017

The above statistical analysis supports the hypothesis that the new picture is a factor for using the VS WO, since it is in this cell that the greatest contribution to our highly significant Chi-square value is found.

5.3.1. Comparison of the results from the new character and new picture tests

The above results, compared to the results of the new character test, give less support to the *new picture hypothesis* than to the new character one. Compare:

total NEW Character 70	of them VS 51 (72.8%)	of them SV 19 (27.1%)
total of NEW Picture 73	of them VS 32 (43.8%)	of them SV 41 (56.2%)

Table 18: VS/SV Distribution of Sentences with New Character or New Picture in Bulgarian

total VS sentences 98	New character 51 (52.0%)	same character 47 (48.0%)
total VS sentences 98	New picture 32 (32.6%)	same picture 66 (67.3%)

Table 19: New Character or New Picture Function of the Bulgarian VS Sentences

It is obvious that more VS sentences are employed with the function of introducing a new character than with the function of introducing a new picture. The degree of significance with which the two hypotheses work. is also different: the Chi-square value from the new character tests is 84.57

(p= .0000), while the Chi-square for the new picture tests is only 10.29 (p=.0017). We will spend more time for the discussion of these results in chapter 7 where we compare the three factors tested in this research. Here we only want to point out that there is a degree of involvement of each factor in the choice of VS sentences. For now, we have sufficient basis to say that the new character is much stronger factor in the selection of VS WO than is the new picture.

5.4. Conclusions

Each picture of the set actually captures one of the main events in the story. By selecting the initial sentence of the description of each event we actually restricted the data to the sentences which are focused on the main events only. What precedes them was left to be filled in by the speakers. In doing so, they made episodes centered around the main events, and their shift from picture to picture was actually the beginning of what we call a new "episode". The sentence or the sentences describing what was really in the picture, then, often occurred in the middle or even toward the end of the episodes where the participants involved in the episode were already active in the mind of the hearer. Therefore they were not reintroduced with their names or with anaphors but often they were omitted as subjects. Although the hearer has perfect understanding of who is performing the action in a subjectless sentence, its WO of SV or VS type is not marked, since one of the main constituents, the subject, is missing.

The fact that so many subjectless sentences occur as picture initial alone shows that there is not a very strong dependency between the shift from one picture to another and the WO of main constituents. If, when a new picture is talked about in 37% of the Russian cases and in 56% of the Bulgarian cases, the WO of the main constituents is not discernible, since these sentences miss the subjects, we can say that the change from picture to picture does not strongly affect WO.

All of the above is supported by the statistical analysis completed so far on the sentences which do have overt subjects. We found that many more sentences of the VS type introduce a new character than a new picture. Nonetheless there was a significant shift towards VS WO for new picture. Thus, while we confirmed the correctness of the two hypotheses by the test of significant difference, we also determined that the factors of the new character in discourse and the new picture in the setting act with different power in changing prototypical WO. The tendency that a new character is introduced by a VS sentence is much stronger than the tendency of introducing a new picture by a VS sentence.

6. The "New Episode" Hypothesis

The third test of WO change involves the episode boundary as a factor. All narratives are structured around the main events and the shift from one event or scene to another, according to our operative definition, constitutes the beginning of different episodes or paragraphs. Our analysis this time required a selection of all the initial sentences for the episodes that speakers created. The hypothesis we want to test is that the inverted WO would be a signal for initiation of a new discourse unit, called "episode" (see also 2.2).

The speakers described not only characters, but events in which the characters participate. These events may also be regarded as new and given: at the places when the informants change the scene and start talking about a new action or event in the plot they obviously introduce new concepts. The logical basis of the notion of new then is extended to include narrative structures which reflect a shift to a new episode that introduces a new event.

6.1.Defining the episode boundaries

The first methodological problem we have here involves our way of defining the discourse unit that is called an "episode". Episodes are called conceptual paragraphs in the work of Lackstrom, Selinker and Trimble (1973, cited here according to Tomlin 1987: 458). An episode is considered to be the next highest structural unit of discourse organization after the sentence which is governed by a paragraph level theme or macro proposition. In van Dijk and Kintsch (1983) and in Tomlin (1987) episodes are defined as sustaining attention on a particular paragraph level theme. They usually consist of five to eight propositions in length. Chafe (1987: 42-43) gives an cognitive account of episode which differs from the latter more structurally oriented definition:

> "Within most narratives one finds certain places where the speaker pauses longer than normally, where there is likely to be an increase in fumbling and disfluency <...>. When one looks at the content of the narrative at such places, one usually discovers a significant change in scene, time, character configuration, event structure, and the like".

Chafe relates these places in discourse with a change of the peripheral consciousness of the speakers and defines them as beginnings of new paragraphs. Within the framework of cognitive linguistics and the study of oral narratives, Chafe describes the beginning of a paragraph as the place in a narrative where the speaker introduces "a major shift in the set of concepts which are semi-active". We think that the two terms - episode and paragraph - are used interchangeably by different researchers to define one and the same concept. In this study we choose the term episode.

From what is described in the literature as episode, we adopted the following factors for distinguishing its boundaries when analyzing the discourses in this study: on the one hand, we looked for a change of event, scene or character which is the signal of a new episode, then we selected all the sentences oriented to a common paragraph theme and considered them as belonging to a particular episode; on the other hand, we listened to the narratives (since they are tape-recorded) and found the pauses and disfluencies in the speech which are signals for a change to a new episode.

The pictures of our experiment helped the speakers to focus their stories on the major events. Regardless of whether these events are reflected in the picture set or not, we decided how to divide the discourses into major episodes. Since the speakers saw one and the same picture set, based on one and the same folk tale, their descriptions were comparable with regard to their core content. The variation, therefore, occurred when the informants recalled events which were not pictured. In these cases they created episodes centered around events which would make their narratives coherent. Although it resulted in more episodes than the pictures provided, we had no difficulty in determining what was to be considered as an episode: the speakers' discourse production was greatly influenced by their memories of the popular tale, so we again worked with comparable data in terms of episode analyses. When we compared the narratives, it was not difficult to find the main events described as well as the sentences that initiated the particular episode. Comparison of discourses as method for distinguishing episodes was successfully applied in linguistic research (Prideaux and Hogan 1993: 400-401).

Every sentence that actually presented a shift to a new major event in the story was considered as episode-initial. If the sentence was not the first mention of an episode it was considered as episode-medial.

We applied no control over the structure of the narratives when selecting the sentences. Whatever sentence the speaker used for making a shift to a new event, it was taken as episode-initial. There was no judgment from our perspective whether this particular sentence introduced the first actually-occurring event of the particular episode or not. In this way the study of the structure of the narratives was based on what the speakers decided to be initial, not on what we can consider to be salient and more important. Once again we tried to disregard all the factors of the WO change but one: introducing a new episode in the narrative structure.

The folk tale could be generally structured around 7 episodes each of which consist of several sub-events. Although not all the speakers talked about all the events listed below, we include them as a typical case of narrative structure (E signals an episode, e signals an event within the episode):

E1 the old man is coming back from fishing

e1 it is winter

e2 the horse pulls the cart full of fish

e3 the fox is hungry, looking for food

e3 the old man sees the fox on the road

E2 the fox steals the fish

e1 the old man thinks the fox is dead

e2 the old man puts the fox in the cart

e3 the old man continues along the road

e4 the fox throws fish off the cart

E3 the fox eats the fish at home

e1 the fox jumps out of the cart

e2 the fox collects the fish

e3 she brings the fish to her place

e4 she dries the fish on a rope

e5 the wolf comes to visit her

e6 they talk about the fish

E4 the wolf catches fish

e1 the wolf goes to the river

e2 the wolf makes a hole

e3 the wolf puts his tail in the hole

e4 the wolf's tail freezes in the ice

E5 the wolf runs away
    e1 the dogs smell the wolf
    e2 the peasants beat the wolf
    e3 the wolf cuts off his tail
E6 the fox goes to a village
    e1 the fox takes some dough/flour from the village
    e2 the fox covers her head with the dough/flour
    e3 the fox waits for the wolf
E7 the wolf meets the fox
    e1 the wolf goes back to the forest
    e2 the wolf complains to the fox
    e3 the fox asks him to carry her
    e4 the wolf puts the fox on his shoulders

Since episode 6 is not in the pictures, it appears to be optional in the discourses produced.

6.2. Complex sentences at episode beginnings

While analyzing the episode-initial sentences, we observed a very interesting phenomenon: most of all complex sentences in the Russian and Bulgarian discourses were used at the beginning of the new episodes. The complex sentence was not found as typical when the first two hypotheses were tested. The new characters, as well as the new pictures, were introduced almost without exception by simple sentences. In fact only two times in the Bulgarian narratives and once in the Russian ones did a new participant occur in a clause within a complex sentence. As far as the new picture is concerned, only three picture beginnings in the Bulgarian and two in the Russian discourses are expressed in complex sentences[*] .

There are 10 complex sentences in the Russian narratives which mark the beginning of a new episode. All of them have overt subjects in both of the clauses and all clauses have SV WO.

The subordinated clause in seven of the complex sentences is adverbial with the function of relating the action of the main clause to the one described in the dependent clause. A very typical example is:

> Когда он ехал по лесу, лиса почуяла запах рыбы. / When he went through the forest, the fox smelled the fish.

Three of the complex sentences have embedded dependent clauses that function as complements. For example:

> Волк решил, что он тоже не глуп. / The wolf decided that he was not stupid either;
>
> Однажды лис увидел, что старик ехал по дороге. / One day the fox saw [that] an old man was going down the road.

---

[*] The explanation of why there are many more complex sentences at the beginning of the new episodes than there are for the introduction of a new picture or character appears natural when the function of the main and subordinate clauses are compared. The role of a subordinate clause is usually contributing to the event described in the main clause. Therefore, it is quite unlikely that a main character will appear for the very first time in the narrative in a subordinate clause. We can not expect neither that new pictures will be reflected in subordinate clauses, because we consider as picture-initial only these sentences that actually mention some event from the pictures. Since the pictures capture main events, the sentences describing them are likely to be main, or simple, while subordinate ones are likely to add details to the main events or to connect them. Finding the episode boundaries was a search for those structures that on the one hand connect the events described, and on the other, mark a shift from one event to the next. The perfect structure for these purposes in the discourse is the complex sentence and finding it in the Bulgarian and Russian discourses is not a surprise. It is known from the literature (see Tomlin 1985) that subordinate clauses have a backgrounding function and independent clauses have a foregrounding function in discourse.

The 19 complex sentences that occur as episode-initial in the Bulgarian narratives are of two major types: those with an adverbial clause (15), and those with an attributive/relative clause (4).

In contrast to the Russian sentences with an adverbial clause, the Bulgarian sentences of this type are more diversified. The functions of the adverbial clause vary: they describe events sequential to or simultaneous with the events of the main clause; they describe the purpose of the action of the main clause; they explain the event of the main clause. Examples:

> Докато той доволен си мислел как ще зарадва бабата, лисицата започнала да изхвърля рибата от каруцата. / While he gladly thought how he would make the old lady happy, the fox started to throw the fish of the cart.
>
> Така той тръгнал да търси лисицата, за да я накаже за скъсаната си опашка. / Thus, he went to look for the fox to punish her for his cut tail.
>
> И понеже била много хитра лисичката, нанизала рибката на една връв. / And because the fox was very clever, [she] strung up the fish on a rope.

In the beginning of our study we decided to count the main and subordinate clause in a complex structure (if they both have overt subjects - 4.1.2.) as simple sentences. We excluded all subjectless, existential or passive sentences, since their WO is dependent on factors different from the ones we are testing here. For consistency of analysis, we apply this method again. Thus, subordinate clauses that are episode-initial but with an overt subject are analyzed together with the simple episode-initial clauses with overt subjects. The subordinate clauses without overt subjects are excluded from the total sentences analyzed in this study with regard to the WO, as it is the case with the simple subjectless sentences.

After applying these restrictions, we end up with only 3 complex sentences in Bulgarian with overt subjects in both main and adverbial clauses. This small number results from the fact that the subject of the subordinate clause is omitted in all cases when the main clause has an identical subject. However, the subjects of the main and the dependent clause in the three complex sentences mentioned before are different. Therefore they are explicit in both clauses of the sentences (see the first example cited above). The main and the subordinate clauses in these cases have SV WO.

SV is also the WO in the 4 complex sentences with attributive clauses. Each attributive clause is inserted in the main clause, which itself starts with the subject. The subject of the attributive clause is the relative pronoun that is also the conjunction of the two clauses. One very typical example is:

> Кумчо Вълчо, който така и не блестял с особен ум, послушал Кума Лиса. / The wolf who is not qualified as too bright, followed the godmother Fox's advice.

6.3. Results from the Russian data

Out of total 358 sentences excerpted from the Russian texts 130 introduce a new episode. There are 19 speakers and 137 episode-initial sentences which makes an average of 7.2 episodes introduced in each narrative. Keeping in mind that we use 6 pictures in the set and that some main events are not presented in the picture set, it is plausible to expect more episodes in the stories than the actual number of the pictures shown to the speakers. This mismatch between the pictures and the episodes was already mentioned in chapters 4 and 5. The speakers tried to connect the main events captured on the pictures by new episodes that lead to the visualized actions or that describe direct consequences of the events in the pictures. For this purpose the Russian speakers regularly introduced the optional episode #6 which is not in the pictures. As was pointed out before, this episode plays an important role in the discourse cohesion, since it explains what caused the wolf to carry the fox on his shoulders.

Some speakers also talked about the moment when the old man found the cart empty. According to the original version of the folk tale, the old man was hoping to make his wife happy with the tasty fish and with a warm fur coat made from the fox's fur. He made her angry instead, because both the food and the coat were gone. This episode is only occasionally described at the narratives, since it is not a connecting element at the discourse structure. Its presence in some Russian narratives explains in part why there are 7.2 episodes per person.

Out of the total 137 episode-initial sentences seven were subjectless and were excluded from our data set, as in the previous two tests. There were 10 complex sentences used at the beginning of new episodes and we counted as episode-initial only the first clause of any such sentence, the one that actually introduced the episode.

The total 130 episode-initial sentences were split between 59 VS and 71 SV types. The analysis shows that, on the one hand, within the episode-initial variable, the SV type of sentence occurs with higher frequency than the VS type, viz. 54.6% vs. 45.4%. On the other hand, within the VS type itself there are almost three times as many sentences introducing a new episode than sentences that do not have this function.

The table below shows the distribution:

sentences	new episode	old episode	total
VS	59 (16.48%)	20 (5.59%)	79 (22.07%)
SV	71 (19.83%)	208 (58.10%)	279 (77.93%)
total	130 (36.31%)	228 (63.69%)	358 (100.00%)

Table 20: New/Old Episode in the Russian VS/SV Sentences (Actual Distribution)

The hypothesis that the new episode is also a factor for inversion of the WO is strongly supported by the data above. If it were not a factor the expected distribution of the sentences, according to the Chi-square calculation, would have been:

sentences	new episode	old episode	total
VS	29 (8.10%)	50 (13.97%)	79 (22.07%)
SV	101 (28.21%)	178 (49.72%)	279 (77.93%)
total	130 (36.31%)	228 (63.69%)	358 (100.00%)

Table 21: New/Old Episode in the Russian VS/SV Sentences (Expected Distribution)

Thus, if each type of WO contributed proportionally to the episode-initial function of the sentence, we should have found exactly half as many VS sentences that introduce a new episode, and 30 % more SV sentences with the same function. It is evident that the inversion of the WO is associated with the episode-initial position.

The test for significance of the results supports the correctness of the original hypothesis that the WO depends on the discourse factor of beginning of a new episode in the narrative:

sentences	new episode	old episode	total
VS	31.03	18.00	49.03
SV	8.91	5.06	13.97
total	39.94	23.06	63.00

Table 22: New/Old Episode & VS/SV Chi-square Results in Russian

Chi-square (1, N = 358) = 63.00 p < .0000

6.3.1.Comparison of the results from the three hypotheses

In gross terms, Russian speakers use the most VS sentences to introduce a new episode, they use fewer VS sentences to introduce a new character, and they use the fewest VS sentences when talking about a new picture (59 vs. 43 vs. 39 (see table 24)). When compared to the SV sentences, with the same functions, though, the results have a different interpretation: only the new character function is expressed in 63.2% by VS sentences, while both VS and SV sentences share the new picture and new episode functions, and the percentages are even a little higher for the SV type. It must be understood, however, that our count of new character sentences, for example, included those that had single, double, or even triple functions (i.e., NC, NC + NP, NC + NE, or NC + NP + NE). Therefore these gross percentages must be accepted with some caution.

total NEW Character 68	of them VS 43 (63.2%)	of them SV 25 (36.8%)
total of NEW Picture 83	of them VS 39 (47.0%)	of them SV 44 (53.0%)
total of NEW Episode 130	of them VS 59 (45.4%)	of them SV 71 (54.6%)

Table 23: VS/SV Distribution of Sentences with New Character or New Picture or New Episode in Russian

That some sentences with inverted WO have a double, or even a triple function, is obvious from our data, since we found only 79 VS sentences in the Russian narratives, yet the sum of the figures from the second column above is 140. We will deal with this problem in chapter 7, where attention is drawn to the comparison of the three factors of WO inversion.

In the table below, we present a summary of the functional distribution of VS sentences:

total VS sentences 79	New character 43 (54.4%)	same character 36 (45.6%)
total VS sentences 79	New picture 39 (49.4%)	same picture 40 (50.6%)
total VS sentences 79	New episode 59 (74.68%)	same episode 20 (25.32%)

Table 24: New Character or New Picture or New Episode Function of the Russian VS Sentences

The above data shows again that the Russian VS sentences most often occurred with new episode function (74.68%). In 54.4% they expressed the new character function, and the least frequent was their occurrence with the new picture function (49.4%).

6.4. Results from the Bulgarian data

Bulgarian speakers used 117 episode-initial sentences of which 13 are subjectless. The average number for the episodes created in their narratives is 6.2. per speaker. Very few subjects talked about episode #6, and that is why Bulgarian narratives appear to be shorter than the Russian ones. This is reflected in the fewer episode-initial sentences and in the fewer episodes used in the Bulgarian discourses compared to Russian (104 vs. 130 sentences and an average of 6.2 vs. 7.2 episodes).

Here, as well as in the results of the Russian narratives, we report the WO of a clause that actually begins a new episode, whether it is an independent simple clause or a clause within a complex sentence. There are altogether 19 complex sentences found at the beginnings of new episodes in all Bulgarian discourses.

According to their WO the episode-initial sentences are divided as follows:

sentences	new episode	old episode	total
VS	54 (15.84%)	44 (12.90%)	98 (28.74%)
SV	50 (14.66%)	193 (56.60%)	243 (71.26%)
total	104 (30.50%)	237 (69.50%)	341 (100.00%)

Table 25: New/Old Episode in the Bulgarian VS/SV Sentences

(Actual Distribution)

The table shows that the new episodes in the Bulgarian narratives are introduced by 54 VS sentences and by 50 SV sentences. It also shows that slightly more than a half of all VS sentences have the function to introduce a new episode. These results, in contrast to the Russian ones, show more evenly distributed numbers between the VS and SV type when new episode is involved. And yet, if the new episode were not a factor of the WO choice, the speakers would have used many more SV sentences and fewer VS sentences with this function. The table below presents the expectations from the Chi-square calculation:

sentences	new episode	old episode	total
VS	30 (8.80%)	68 (19.94%)	98 (28.74%)
SV	74 (21.70%)	169 (49.56%)	243 (71.26%)
total	104 (30.50%)	237 (69.50%)	341(100 00%)

Table 26: New/Old Episode in the Bulgarian VS/SV Sentences

(Expected Distribution)

Here again we found the tendency that the VS WO type is the preferred one in episode-initial position of the sentence. If this factor did not have any effect on the WO, the speakers would have used 30 VS sentences and 74 SV sentences when they begin a new episode. What they used in fact is 54 VS and 44 SV sentences.

In other words, there is a tendency that VS type is found more frequently at the beginnings of episodes and the tendency holds with regard to the number of sentences of the same WO type (but found in position within the episode, i.e., in "old" episode) and with regard to the number of SV sentences found at the beginnings of new episodes.

The table below shows the cells that contribute most to the function of episode beginning, namely VS type. Chi-square test shows the results to be highly significant:

sentences	new episode	old episode	total
VS	19.20	8.47	27.67
SV	7.78	3.41	11.19
total	26.98	11.88	38.86

Table 27: New/Old episode Chi-square results in Bulgarian

Chi-square (1, N = 341) = 38.86 p < .0000

6.4.1. Comparison of the results from the three hypotheses

In summary, Bulgarian speakers used 54 VS sentences to introduce a new episode, 51 VS sentences to introduce a new character, and 32 VS sentences when they started to talk about a new picture.

total NEW Character 70	of them VS 51 (72.8%)	of them SV 19 (27.1%)
total of NEW Picture 73	of them VS 32 (43.8%)	of them SV 41 (56.2%)
total of NEW Episode 104	of them VS 54 (51.9%)	of them SV 50 (48.1%)

Table 28: VS/SV Distribution of Sentences with New Character or New Picture or New Episode in Bulgarian

The distribution of the Bulgarian VS sentences resembles the statistical results from the Russian narratives, where we also found that most of VS sentences carry new episode function, fewer carry the new character function and fewest carry the new picture function (59: 43: 39). We could tentatively conclude that the factor of new episode more consistently employs the inverted WO in both languages, but taking into account the proportions of SV sentences which have the same functions could change our interpretation. For instance, only the new character function seems to be expressed predominantly by VS sentences (51 VS vs. 19 SV), while the new episode function is almost equally shared by the two WO types (54 VS vs. 50 SV) and the new picture function is carried by more SV than VS sentences 32 VS vs. 41 SV). That is why we will refrain from making any conclusions before chapter 7, where statistical analysis on the three tested factors is provided.

The table below shows the distribution of the Bulgarian sentences with regard to the three factors within the VS group:

total VS sentences 98	New character 51 (52.0%)	same character 47 (48.0%)
total VS sentences 98	New picture 32 (32.6%)	same picture 66 (67.3%)
total VS sentences 98	New episode 54 (55.1%)	same episode 44 (44.9%)

Table 29: New Character or New Picture or New Episode Function of the Bulgarian VS Sentences

The results above show that new character and new episode function occur with VS sentences more frequently than the new picture function (viz. 54 VS and 51 VS vs. 32 VS sentences).

7. Comparative analysis of the results from the three hypotheses in Bulgarian and Russian

Two different comparisons are made in this chapter. The first aims to separate each of the WO factors tested from the others and determine how each one works in isolation. In the previous chapters the investigation was done on the basis of the natural contexts where the three factors co-occur in different combinations. Thus, every sentence with a new character, for example, was considered in the data for this particular test disregarding the fact that there might have been other factors of WO inversion at this particular sentence. When comparing the factors in isolation, we aim to account for the influence which they display on each other, causing WO inversion in both languages.

The second comparison involves the results of the new character, new picture and *new episode hypothesis* in the two languages studied. We will summarize the similarities and differences with which these factors work in Bulgarian and Russian.

7.1. Interrelation of new character, new picture and new episode factor of WO change

In the following section we attempt to tease apart the three factors tested in this study. For this purpose, we first have to find out how many of the sentences in our research data introduced only a new character, how many of them introduced only a new picture and how many introduced only a new episode. Further we group each of the factors tested in all possible combinations (NC + NP; NC + NE; NP + NE) and search the linguistic data for sentences that express these combinations of factors. Finally, we check the data for sentences which introduced all three factors together. In this way, we distinguish among sentences with single, double or triple function. The tables below represent the distribution of the sentences according to the number of functions and WO in each language group.

function / WO	VS	SV
New Character (NC)	6	4
New Picture (NP)	9	12
New Episode (NE)	7	32
NC + NP	2	1
NC + NE	19	11
NP + NE	16	16
NC + NP +NE	11	9

Table 30: Sentences with Single, Double or Triple Function in Russian

function / WO	VS	SV
New Character (NC)	13	9
New Picture (NP)	7	12
New Episode (NE)	7	28
NC + NP	4	2
NC + NE	15	3
NP + NE	16	12
NC + NP +NE	13	5

Table 31:Sentences with Single, Double or Triple Function in Bulgarian

A glance through the tables show very similar results with regard to the general proportion between VS / SV sentences in Russian and Bulgarian. The only difference in the proportions is found in the NC + NE group, where Russian data shows 19 VS vs. 11 SV sentences while Bulgarian shows 15 VS vs. 3 SV. Most of the sentences that constitute the difference are used for one particular episode (E3 e5) when the wolf comes to visit the fox. The fact that this character is introduced just once by a SV WO in Bulgarian and 6 times in Russian accounts for a greater part of statistical difference in the NC + NE group found above.

7.1.1. Statistical analysis

In order to account for the role that any factor, when included in another, plays in the WO inversion, we apply the Chi-square test to six different sets of data for each language. Thus we compare:

1) New character to NC + NP;
2) New character to NC + NE;
3) New picture to NP + NE;
4) New picture to NP + NC;
5) New episode to NE + NP;
6) New episode to NE + NC

Interestingly enough, for both Bulgarian and Russian the Chi-square test shows significant results for only two of the above combinations (5 and 6). When new picture is incorporated into new episode, the calculated Chi-square value for Russian is 8.24 ($p < .01$) and it is 9.25 ($p < .01$)for Bulgarian. When new character is incorporated into new episode the Chi-square value is 14. 88 ($p <.001$) in Russian and 19.65 ($p < .001$) in

Bulgarian. For all other combinations of factors the statistical analysis shows insignificant values of Chi-square. This means the role of new episode or new picture in combination with new character factor is insignificant, and as is the role of new character or new episode plus new picture as factors of WO inversion.

The above results could be related to the results we found in the statistical analysis before. Although the three factors were shown to influence WO inversion, there is a certain difference in the specific way in which they act. For instance, we found in the earlier analysis that the new character introduction influences the WO inversion with a very high statistical significance (total Chi-square value for each language was above 80 and $p < .0000$). Second in significance was the new episode factor (with Chi-square value of 64 for Russin and Chi-square of 39 for Bulgarian and $p < .0000$ for both languages). Only third in this ranking of significance was the new picture factor with 39 Chi-square value and $p < .0000$ in Russian and 10 in Bulgarian with $p < .0017$). One would then expect that, when combined, the new character would display a greater influence over the new episode, which in fact is the result reported from our last test here. It is also reasonable to find that neither new episode nor new picture, being less powerful (according to their Chi-square values), would influence the new character which is first in rank of significance.

The logic of this explanation seems to be violated when new picture as factor shows some influence over new episode. It could be arguably concluded that a less powerful factor contributes to more powerful one. However, in our original tests the data selection allowed the three factors to be confounded. For instance, all sentences with a new character were included in the data for the earlier new character test regardless of the fact that some of them were also episode or picture-initial. The same applies for the two other tests: all sentences which were picture-initial were considered in the data for the new picture test, including those that at the same time were episode-initial and/or introducing new character.

Now, when we separate the factors to test how they act individually, our analysis gives a somewhat different result. It shows that new character does add to new episode and new picture does add to new episode in significantly increasing the number of WO inversions. Compare, for instance the VS sentences that express a new episode to the SV sentences with the same function (table 30 and 31). In both languages we found that many more sentences of the SV type are engaged with this function (7 VS for both languages vs. 32 SV in Russian and vs. 28 SV in Bulgarian). However, if we examine sentences with the new episode function combined with the new character and/or the new picture functions, the number of the VS sentences will prevail over the number of the SV sentences. Thus, the group of NC + NE in Russian has 19 VS sentences more than the original 7 that carried only the new episode function, and the NP + NE group has 16 more VS sentences. Quite similarly the NC + NE group in Bulgarian has 15 more VS sentences than the original 7 with the new episode function alone, and the NP + NE group adds another 16 VS sentences.

On the other hand, we can see that the number of VS sentences with the single function of introducing new character is higher than the SV sentences with the same function. given that in general, across the whole data set the proportion of SV to VS sentences is about 3 : 1, this means that the new character factor does not need any help from the others to show its influence on WO. Although we can not say the same for the factor of the new picture, we could estimate its role in comparison to the role of the new episode factor. In both languages the number of the VS sentences with a new picture is at least half that of the SV sentences with this function, while the VS sentences with new episode are only one fourth of the SV sentences. Therefore we could expect that the new picture factor gets less help from the other two factors in exercising its influence on WO than the new episode factor.

Although the three factors of WO inversion are associated with novelty (of character or picture or episode), they have different bases. For instance, the *new picture hypothesis* centers on a perceptual phenomenon, that of the visual stimulus itself, while the *new episode hypothesis* is based on a cognitive phenomenon of how the speakers organize information for presentation. The *new character hypothesis*, however, centers on perceptual and cognitive phenomena together. This could be one way of explaining the differences in which the three factors are accounted in discourse production.

In summary, it could be concluded that the most salient of the factors influencing WO in Bulgarian and Russian is the new character factor. The least salient is the new episode factor and the new picture factor takes a middle position in this hierarchy (NC>NP>NE).

7.2. Comparative analysis of the results from Russian and Bulgarian

In the following section we compare the final results from the tests of the three hypotheses in this study. Our attention will be drawn in particular to the similarities and differences of the results found in Russian and Bulgarian.

As mentioned already in the concluding sections for each of the tests (4.3., 5.4., 6.1., 6.2.), Russian and Bulgarian data confirm the tendency that every new character, new picture and new episode in the discourse is preferably introduced by sentence of a VS WO type. Let us now examine the nuances of these tendencies in the two languages.

7.2.1. New character hypothesis

With regard to the *new character hypothesis*, both Bulgarian and Russian show very similar results: the new characters occur in VS sentences in 63.2% of the Russian cases, and in 72.8% of the Bulgarian cases:

language	New character	VS	SV
Bulgarian	70	51 (72.8%	19 (27.1%)
Russian	68	43 (63.2%)	25 (36.8%)

Table 32: VS/SV Sentences with New Characters in Bulgarian and Russian

Moreover, the statistical level of significance of the results from both languages is virtually identical: p < .0000 (Chi-square is 82.77 for Russian and 84.57 for Bulgarian). The split of the VS and SV sentences with new characters appears to be slightly more pronounced for Bulgarian than it does for Russian: compare 72.8% VS vs. 27.1% SV in Bulgarian and 63.2% VS vs. 36.8% SV in Russian. This approximately 10% more SV sentences with a new character in the Russian discourses consist mainly of clauses with the new character and new episode function. Subsequent examination of the data shows that most of these introduce the wolf as a new participant in episode e5 (when the wolf comes to visit the fox). The fact that this particular character is introduced just once by a SV WO in Bulgarian and 6 times in Russian accounts for the greater part of the statistical difference found with regard to the *new character hypothesis* in Russian and Bulgarian.

In general, our first hypothesis is the most consistently supported by the data from the two different languages. Even the distribution within the VS type is quite similar for Bulgarian and Russian: 54.4% of all Russian VS sentences have a new character function, and 52% of all Bulgarian VS sentences have the same function.

language	VS sentences	New character	Old character
Bulgarian	98	51 (72.8%)	47 (48.0%)
Russian	79	43 (63.2%)	36 (45.6%)

Table 33: VS Sentences with New/Old Character in Bulgarian and Russian

7.2.2. New picture hypothesis

Although the *new picture hypothesis* is supported by our data, the two languages differ in the level of significance of the statistical results. For instance, $p < .0000$ for Russian (Chi-square = 40.57) while $p < .0017$ for Bulgarian (Chi-square = 10.29). These results are peculiar if we relate them to an almost identical split of VS and SV sentences with new picture introduction in both languages: Russian data shows 47% VS sentences functioning as picture initial vs. 53% SV; quite similarly Bulgarian shows 43.8% VS sentences vs. 56.2% SV:

language	New picture	VS	SV
Bulgarian	73	32 (43.8%)	41 (56.2%)
Russian	83	39 (47.0%)	44 (53.0%)

Table 34: VS/SV Sentences with New Picture in Bulgarian and Russian

Looking only at these numbers, we can not account for the difference in statistical significance. What probably does explain the difference is the different distribution of the VS sentences with and without the function of picture beginning. For instance, these sentences are almost equally divided in Russian: 49.4% introduce a new picture and 50.6% do not. In Bulgarian, however, the group of VS sentences with new picture introduction is half that of the one with no such function: 32.6% vs. 67.3%.

language	VS sentences	New picture	old picture
Bulgarian	98	32 (32.6%)	66 (67.3%)
Russian	79	39 (49.4%)	40 (50.6%)

Table 35: VS Sentences with New/Old Picture in Bulgarian and Russian

7.2.3. New episode hypothesis

Our third hypothesis regarding the new episode introduction is also differently supported by the Russian and the Bulgarian data. First, the two data sets support in a different way the hypothesis that new episode occurs in sentences with inverted WO: for $p < .0000$ in the two languages, Chi-square value for Russian is 64 while for Bulgarian it is 38.86.

Second, within the VS type in Bulgarian, there are 55.1% sentences functioning as episode initial vs. 44.9% which do not have this function. On the other hand, the greater part of Russian VS sentences (74.68%) is associated with episode beginning and only 25.32% of them do not have this function:

language	VS sentences	New episode	old episode
Bulgarian	98	54 (55.1%)	40 (44.9%)
Russian	79	59 (74.68%)	20 (25.32%)

Table 36: VS Sentences with New/Old Episode in Bulgarian and Russian

One factor that could account for the differences here is the use of complex sentences in the discourses collected. As mentioned in 6.3., we found 10 complex sentences at episode beginning in the Russian discourses and 19 in Bulgarian discourses. We will discuss later the reasons for fixing the WO to SV in clauses of complex sentences (chapter 8 and 9). Nevertheless, the number of the complex sentences is so limited that it could at best account for only 10% of the difference by which Bulgarian and Russian WO at episode beginning functions.

7.2.4. Conclusions

In general, we observe here that the factor of new character introduction affects very similarly the WO in both Bulgarian and Russian, while new picture and new episode in the discourses do not produce such similar effects in the WO inversion of the two languages.

It is obvious that the latter factors control the WO inversion more consistently in Russian than in Bulgarian. Their power results in much greater number of VS sentences engaged with their functions: almost 50% of the Russian VS sentences introduce a new picture and almost 75% of them introduce an episode, while only 33 % and 55% of the Bulgarian VS sentences respectively have these functions. Having in mind that the total number of sentences with inverted WO is a little higher in Bulgarian than in Russian, we could tentatively conclude that WO inversion is less dependent on the factors of episode and picture beginning in Bulgarian than it is in Russian.

One explanation of the different way in which Bulgarian and Russian WO is affected by the factors of episode or picture beginning is to assume that there are other factors which we have not tested here. In the following chapters (8 & 9) we will discuss some factors that interfere with the new character, new picture and new episode and probably prevent the WO inversion to take place. In other words, we are dealing with the exceptions from the general tendencies of WO inversion, namely the cases in which SV WO occurs with the discourse functions tested.

8. Analysis of exceptions in Russian

The attention in this chapter is focused on an analysis of the exceptions to the hypotheses of VS WO. We will try to explain the specifics of those contexts in which sentences of the SV type, not VS, introduce a new character, a new picture or a new episode.

From the 279 SV sentences encountered in the Russian narratives we found 79 to employ one, two or all three of the tested functions. Although the statistical analysis showed their contribution to the realization of these functions with comparison to the VS type insignificant, their number is substantial enough to warrant examination of their role in the narratives.

8.1. Types of exceptions expected

At the very outset of the analysis, we must clarify our expectations for the type of exception that might occur. Specifically, that our hypotheses of introducing a new character, a new picture or a new episode in discourse by inverted WO will have different exceptions. We base this claim on the following.

First, only when a new character occurs is the match between rheme and grammatical subject possible, because the participants in the folk tale can only be named by nouns and only nouns usually play the role of grammatical subjects. Although the characters sometimes occur as grammatical objects, as we pointed out in chapter 4, we have a strong ground for the expectation described.

Second, when a new picture or a new episode is introduced in the narration, it is more likely that the rheme will match the sentence element that expresses a new event in the plot. Events are usually described by verbs and if the verb is chosen to be the rheme in the particular sentence, according to the general pattern of the Slavic sentence, it will tend to take the last position there. Therefore the inversion of VS would usually not be expected, unless a new character also occurs in the particular sentence.

The last statement seems to contradict partly our original hypotheses that new episode and new picture are factors which in part govern WO inversion. We, therefore, have to point out that the expectation presented above is based only on the theme/rheme distribution within the sentence boundaries while our hypotheses for WO dependence on new episode and new picture factors are based on the given/new distribution in the narratives as a whole.

The above expectations are supported by the numbers of sentences with the SV WO which are considered as exceptions to the general pattern that this study establishes. Their numbers appear to be different for each of the factors tested: the fewest exceptions to the type with a new character (only 4); more to the type with a new picture (12); and the greatest number to the type with a new episode(30).

This seems to contradict the results shown on Table 23, where 25 SV sentences are presented to introduce a new character, 44 a new picture and 71 a new episode. But as mentioned before, some of these have double or triple function.

8.2. Exceptions at discourse beginning

The SV sentences with triple function (new character + new picture + new episode) are a curious exception of the VS WO tendency. It is plausible to expect that the three factors together should be stronger than just two or one of them. Therefore it would be plausible to predict that the tendency of using VS WO under this conditions will hardly ever have any exception. And yet, there are 11 VS sentences vs. 9 SV sentences that carry the triple function.

Five of the SV sentences introducing a new participant, a new picture or a new episode are also discourse-initial sentences. Let us take a closer look at them. There are a few ways that speakers choose to begin their narratives but most of them focused their stories around the event of how the old man is going home from fishing. Thus:Наловил мужик/старик/рыбак/дед/ рыбу (Caught a peasant/an old man/a fisherman/a grandfather/ fish), is a very typical beginning of the narratives collected. In fact, we encountered eight cases in which the speakers use the quoted sentence in VS WO and five in SV WO. We believe that discourse beginning is a place with greater variation of WO: seven speakers began the narratives with a SV WO, three used the phrase "жил был " (there lived once upon a time) as a stereotypic beginning for a folk tale in Russian, while the rest 9 speakers used VS WO.

While this variation holds true, we still want to add something to the explanation of the SV sentences as narrative-initial. The specifics of initiating a discourse do not reflect any dependence on what was already introduced and therefore known to the listener, thus everything mentioned in the first sentence of the discourse could be in the category of new information. Only on the basis of relating back to the previous context can the speakers decide what is more important for the next utterance or statement and may use WO inversion to mark it. If the WO is freed from presenting given/new distribution, its variation should be greater in this particular position than in the course of the narrative. On the other hand, in terms of markedness theory and positions of neutralization, the tendency would be to the prototypical SV WO.

The latter explanation is supported by previous work on Russian WO in the framework of Functional Sentence Perspective. Scholars like Kovtunova and Sirotinina claim that SVO WO is preferred in context where the grammatical subject is given and also in the absence of context. For now, we would claim that discourse initial position should be regarded as just such absence of context (discussion of the issue continues on the basis of Bulgarian data in 9.2.1.).

8.3. Lexical factors and intonation affecting the WO in Russian

In our data within the discourse, all but three sentences which carry a new character, a new picture, or a new episode have VS WO. One of the three is:

В это время крестяни приближали с собаками / At this time peasants were coming with dogs,

another is:

А тут мужики из деревни увидели волка / And here men from the village saw the wolf.

We also found that most of the sentences in the narratives starting with the temporal adverbial phrasis В это время (at this time, meanwhile) or

Тем временем (during this time, meanwhile) have a SV word order. Examples:

В это время волк пришёл / At this time the wolf came;

Тем временем лисица-хитрица побежала в деревню / During this time the sly fox run into the village;

Тем временем лиса села на него верхом / Meanwhile the fox sat on his back;

В это время лиса собрала рыбу / During this time the fox collected the fish;

Тем временем лисица-хитрица побежала в деревню / Meanwhile the sly fox ran into the village.

We believe that the exceptions cited above, along with many others of a similar nature, can be explained by lexical and intonational factors, which are elucidated in the following section.

8.3.1. Russian intonational types

In most cases the extra lexical factors appear to work simultaneously with intonation in expressing the rheme in sentences. A pause, for instance, naturally follows a particle or an adverb, and after the pause stress is usually assigned to the element that follows. This element is most often the rheme and it becomes marked as a rheme by the assigned stress and rising intonation. Thus while preserving the prototypical WO, the intonation and the lexicon help to distinguish the rheme as an alternative device to the inversion of WO discussed earlier in our work. The combination of the lexical and intonational factors account for most of the cases where new character, new episode or new picture is introduced, but the WO is not inverted as is the general tendency in Russian and Bulgarian. With regard to the emphasis and its place in the sentence we adopt here Yokoyama's approach of distinguishing two main type of intonations of the Russian sentence: one associated with theme/rheme WO; the other with the preservation of SV. She describes the utterance of intonation "Type 1" as composed of one or more syntagms, each of which but the last has its own rising syntagmatic stress. There is a falling stress on the last syntagm and there is no sentential stress in this type, which Yokoyama illustrates by the following example:

Кто написал "Евгения Онегина"? / Who wrote "Evgenij Onegin" ?

"Евгения Онегина" написал Пушкин. / "Evgenij Onegin" wrote Pushkin

The intonation of the answer is rising at the sentential beginning and at the following items and it is falling at the sentential end. Utterances of Type 1 are related to the word order in such a way that the element carrying the rheme (Pushkin in this case) is found in the end of each utterance. In Yokoyama's words, "the underlying tones of this intonational type are implemented from left to right, and the order of the elements reflects the metainformational knowledge of the speaker" (Yokoyama 1986: 191)

She further uses "Type 2" as a label for a number of utterance intonation contours that all share the feature of having a sentential stress. Sentential stress is defined as "that stress which marks the knowledge item that would occur in utterance-final position, were the same sentence to be uttered with intonation Type 1 instead" (Yokoyama 1986: 198)[6]. Thus, the answers to the original question above will be :

Пушкин "Евгения Онегина" написал / Pushkin "Evgenij Onegin" wrote;

Or

"Евгения Онегина" Пушкин написал / Evgenij Onegin" Pushkin wrote.

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[6] The "sentential stress" in Yokoyama's terms sometimes is called "logical stress" by other authors and commonly refers to the most informative or salient constituent in the sentence (for details see Bryzgunova 1963).

In both cases, claims Yokoyama, sentential stress would need to be placed on Pushkin, in order to distinguish the importance of the information which this lexeme carries. The promotion of a sentence element from final position to the left goes with marking it with stress.These sentences are then SV, even though grammatical subject is the rheme.

We relate our study to the theoretical framework of Yokoyama in two ways. First, we based the hypotheses of the research on the statement that the final position is the position of the most important communicative item, namely the rheme. Although the intonation was not discussed, it was assumed that it was neutral, or Type 1. Second, by applying Yokoyama's theory of Type 2 intonation, we hope to explain some of the exceptions of the general tendency when the rheme is not realized in final position, but is promoted to the left. In such instances we can check to see if the exceptional sentences have sentential stress that marks the intonation of Type 2.

With the clarification that the stress in Type 2 intonation is not simply assigned to the linearly last item in the utterance, but rather to the head constituent of the rheme, we can proceed with the analysis of the exceptions, paying more attention to the intonation and the sentential stress. We have to point out that our research on the stress factors involved listening to the tape recordings of the collected discourses not under laboratory conditions. Nevertheless, we could clearly hear the rising or falling pattern of intonation and the pauses that mark the units of the utterances. We also could clearly distinguish the sentential stress assigned by the speakers.

8.3.2. Adverbials

As mentioned above, we examine some lexical items which work together with intonation in distinguishing rheme without changing the prototypical WO. First we focus our attention to adverbials.

Very occasionally the Russian speakers used adverbial phrases in their narratives and in almost all of these instances they did use a SV WO. This is also the case with the demonstrative adverbial тут / here, there. We list all the examples found with lexical item, all but one with SV WO:

А тут ещё рыбаки начали его гнать / And then even the fishermen began him chasing (....began chasing him);
А тут лиса по близости бежала / And here the fox run around;
А тут вот люди прибежали / And here men came;
А тут его лиса встретила / And here him the fox met (And the fox met him there);

Ну тут он испугался / But then he got frightened;
И тут он везёт её. / And here he carries her;
Она тут же это же рыбу развесила/ She here this fish hang (She hang this fish here).

The subjects in the first four examples are new and they are pronounced with sentential stress (intonation Type 2). The subjects in the last three examples are pronominalized (they are not new), but the events described are new. The intonation (Type 1) of these sentences does not distinguish any lexical item that follows the adverbial and the rheme is signaled by its usual position in the Russian sentence: its end.

We observe that the lexical factors of the type тем временем/meanwhile, в это время/at this time, or тут/here, somehow help to emphasize on the new event or character and that word order change is, therefore not necessary for marking the distinction of given and new. The adverbial itself appears to be a signal that something important, worthy of more attention, is going to be mentioned, so it is the warning signal for the hearer to proceed with caution in dealing with the information which follows.

In the cases where new character and new episode together occur in sentences of SV type, they again contain extra lexical items such as adverbials. In all 11 SV episode-initial sentences with a new character, 4 have overt adverbials which play the role of emphasizing the constituents of the rheme without changing the WO. We already had the chance to discuss the WO of the sentences with the adverbials в это время or тут. When we examine the stress and intonational type of the examples:

В это время волк пришёл к ней в гости / At this time wolf came her to visit (...came to visit her);

А тут ещё рыбаки начали его гнать / And here even fishermen began him to chase (....began to chase him);

it becomes clear that the speakers make a pause after the adverbial phrase and then pronounce волк/wolf and рыбаки/fishermen in a louder voice, with rising intonation (Type 2). This is how the new subject in both cases becomes stressed and easy to distinguish by the hearer without changing its position in the clause.

Let us now see the effect of the adverb вдруг/suddenly in the information structure of the sentences that contain it. The examples below show that lexical factor helps out with emphasis on the new element that follows, and the WO does not change. Again there is a pause between the adverbial and the new subject, волк/wolf, and by getting the sentential stress it becomes the most distinguished element in the utterance without change of its position in an inversion with the verb:

И вдруг, волк появился навстречу / And suddenly a wolf appeared in front (new character + new episode).

More important, we have to point out that no matter how many new concepts are carried by the sentence with an adverb, and no matter what combination of concepts it is (only a new episode, or a new character plus a new episode, or a new picture and a new episode and so on), the WO does not change to VS. Examples:

Вдруг, волк услышал шум / Suddenly the wolf heard noise (new episode only);

Вдруг, он увидел мёртвую лису / Suddenly he saw a dead fox (new episode + new picture);

In both examples above, speakers made pauses between the adverb Вдруг/suddenly and the following element, but the emphasis can not be clearly associated with any single item among all that follow. This is predetermined by the fact that in both cases a new event begins. The description of this event takes more than a single word, therefore the stress is not assigned to a single word, but is associated with the elements that follow as a whole group. In such cases the adverb seems to be used by the speaker as a signal to focus the attention of the hearer and warn him/her that a new event begins. In these cases we see the use of intonational Type 1 to preserve the normal position of the most important element, so that it occurs at the end. That is why the nouns лиса/fox (in Вдруг, он увидел мёртвую лису) and шум/noise (in Вдруг, волк услышал шум) are distinguished as the most informative.

It becomes evident that the adverbials together with intonation play a very important role for the distinction of given and new, independently of the factor of the word order. When WO inversion does not occur, the intonation contour differentiates the most important element of the clause.

At this point it would seem that WO change takes place mostly if there are no extra lexical factors in the clause, other than subject, verb and object.

VS inversion is the preferred option for emphasizing a new element when other constituents do not interfere. Otherwise, Type 2 intonation and adverbials can also make the distinction of a new element in discourse.

8.3.3. Particles

As we proceed with the analysis of the exceptions, we can add more lexical factors to the list of those that function as extra markers of the information flow when WO does not change from the prototypical SV. In looking for exceptions to the tendency that the new episode and new picture usually begin with VS sentences, we encountered several uses of the particles ну/well, and вот/here, this, which were always connected with SV sentence type. Examples:

Ну волк послушал всё это / Well, the wolf listened to all this (new episode);

Ну волк сидел, сидел / Well, the wolf sat, sat (new picture);

Вот это мужики очнулись / Here these men awoke (these men here awoke) (new character + new picture);

Ну и вот он сел / And here he sat down (new episode);

Ну тут он испугался / Well, then he got scared (new episode);

И вот волк пробил дырку / And here the wolf made a hole(new episode).

We think that the use of ну / well and вот / here, this signals the new entity or event in the discourse in just the same way as the temporal adverbials and that therefore the WO inversion does not take place. In all the examples the intonation is of Type 1 and the usual position of rheme is kept toward the sentence end. At the same time the particles are the warning signal for the listener that some new event begins. The fact itself that these particles are used by different speakers only in SV sentences supports the idea that they function in structuring information and overriding the WO change.

8.3.4. Demonstratives

The demonstrative так / like this, thus in such a way, is also found only in SV sentence types:

> Так бедный волк стал таскать лису на себе / In such a way the poor wolf began to carry the fox [on him] (new picture);
>
> Волк так и сделал / The wolf exactly thus did (new episode).

Demonstratives are usually regarded in the literature as a special deictic device in the discourse. They are means of anaphora/cataphora in the text, i.e., their referent is either in the preceding or in the following discourse respectively. More important, their functions vary from expressions of stylistic empathy to obligatory textual components.

It is clear that in the examples above так / like this, in such a way, is a marker of co-reference and textual cohesion. It refers back to what was already talked about in the previous paragraph, so one can only understand the meaning of так if one knows the previous context. The position of the demonstrative as anaphor is affected by the complexity of the antecedent and the distribution of given and new information between the anaphor and the antecedent. These two factors also assure the position of так and its function in the discourse. For instance, in the first sentence cited, так only refers back to the episode when the fox convinces the wolf to carry her on his back. Therefore it is promoted to the sentence beginning to connect easily with the previous discourse. In the second example, though, the demonstrative relates both to the previous and to the following discourse: the listener needs to know what the fox advised the wolf to do in order to catch fish, as well as to check in the following discourse if and how the wolf follows her advice. In other words, the meaning of так is extracted from both directions in the narration. That is why the demonstrative occupies a position between other elements in the sentence, as if the mediator of the previous and the following information. In both cases, however, the demonstrative takes the sentential stress (both for semantic and discourse structural reasons) leaving the other elements no other choice than to occur in a canonical word order.

8.3.5. Adjectives

Among the lexical factors that affect the placement of the logical stress in the sentences are adjectives. The speakers only occasionally used adjectives in their narratives. In making this post hoc observation, we now think that the task the speakers were given directed their narration much more toward the actions in the pictures than toward descriptions of the characters. That is why there are very many verbs and very few adjectives in the discourses.

In most of the cases when adjectives occur they add traditional qualifications to the folk characters: хитрая / sly is the usual label for the fox and глупый / stupid is the normal label for the wolf. There are, however, other variants such as:

> Угрюмый волк пришёл навестить свою сестричку / A gloomy wolf came to visit his sister (new character + new episode);

Печальный угрюмец волк пришёл к своей подружке лисице хитрице / A sorrowful and gloomy wolf came to his friend the fox the sly [one] (new episode);
Так бедный волк стал таскать лису на себе / In such a way the poor wolf began to carry the fox (new picture).

It is interesting to note how the use of adjectives (traditional or original) is employed in the narrative structures in our data: when talking about consecutive events in one episode, speakers use short sentences, one after another, as if to describe all the events quickly. On the other hand, when they begin a new scene, they spent more time on the details, use more words, and expand the length of the sentences, as if to slow down the narration and give the hearer more time for comprehension of the new scene. These are the places where the adjectives occur. Consider the following passage from one of the narratives:

одним солнечним зымним днём дедка Иван попроехал на базар
/one sunny winter day granfather Ivan went to a market (1)
продавать рыбку / to sell fish
проезжал мимо леса / [he] was going by the forest
в котором жила лисица хитрица и угрюмый волк
/where lived the fox the sly [one] and the gloomy wolf
лисица хитрица знала о том / The sly fox knew [about]
что дедка собирался продавать рыбку / that the old man planned to sell fish
и подкараулила его / and watched for him
залезла в тележку / [she] climbed on the cart
и помимо того, когда дед двигался вперёд / and while the old man rode ahead
она выбрасивала по одной рыбки / she dropped one by one fish

выбрасивала она по одной рыбке / dropped she one by one fish (2)
и когда не осталось уже ни одной рыбки на дне тележки
/ and when there was not even one fish [left]
она собрала всю эту рыбку / she collected all that fish
прибежала в свою норку / [she] arrived at her den

и повесила сушить всю эту рыбку / and hang to dry all this fish

угрюмый волк пришёл навестить свою сестричку лисичку хитричку
/ the gloomy wolf came to visit his sister the fox the sly [one] (3)
и увидел всю эту рыбку / and [he] saw all this fish
соблазнился этой рыбкой / [he] became tempted by this fish
и спросил лисичку хитричку / and asked the sister fox
лисица хитрица лисица хитрица / fox the sly [one] , fox the sly [one]
где же ты взяла всю эту рыбку ... / where did you take all this fish from ...

The example above represents a classical technique of episode structuring. The speaker uses the most expanded sentences in the beginning of a new scene: (1) and (3). For the initiation of the second episode, however, she uses the WO inversion from SV to VS, repeating exactly the same sentence constituents: Она выбрасивала по одной рыбке / Выбрасивала она по одной рыбке (2). This example best illustrates our finding that the new episode beginning involves WO change.

At the same time we observe how the WO inversion alternates with clause expansion at episode beginnings. Both techniques help in focusing the hearer's attention to the new event that follows. WO inversion, however, seems to take place when the clause structure contains only subject and predicate. The use of adjectives in the noun phrase or adverbials in the verb phrase complicates the process of WO inversion (may be because these elements should also find their places if the noun and the verb switch places), and the SV WO is tentatively preserved.

8.3.6. Summary: constituent structure and clause WO

It is evident that the WO plays the role of distinguishing a new concept (character, picture, episode) in competition with other factors, namely lexical and intonational ones. While we found that in the majority of cases the inversion of the prototypical WO is the primary marker of a new entity or event, there are definitely other devices like adverbs, adjectives, and particles, in conjunction of pauses and intonation, whose function is also associated with emphasizing a new element.

The constituent structure of the clause significantly influences the WO change. First, because the linear structure of the sentence should find a place for each and every item in the clause, so that in a case of inversion of the main constituents all other elements should preserve their relation to the subject or to the predicate. Second, because there are lexical items which could change the intonational pattern and help distinguish the new and given without WO change. Now we add the functions of the clause as another factor that could override the WO change in distinguishing given and new.

8.4. Pronominalization and WO in Russian

There is a large number of exceptions (12) that appear in SV WO and that are associated with the process of pronominalization. As we already mentioned with regard to the demonstratives, pronominalization is an act of co-reference. Therefore it is only natural that the pronominal subjects play the role of the theme rather than rheme in the particular sentence. Well known studies about the topic continuity in discourse (Givon 1983; Tomlin 1986) indicate that the most obvious topics are realized in the text by zero anaphora. When applied to the case of Russian and Bulgarian, this results in the omission of the grammatical subjects. Speakers reintroduce the topics in their narrations when they feel a need to resolve ambiguity or to reactivate the topics in the listeners' memory. In such cases they use pronouns. Therefore the given information is subject to pronominalization.

It is obvious then, why the prototypical WO is preserved in the sentences whose subjects are expressed by pronouns: the normal place of the theme is taken by the pronoun and the usual place of the rheme - the sentential end - is preserved for the new element. In most cases the new element in the discourse is a new action which in this study is treated as a signal of a new episode or a new picture. For example:

Она прыгнула в сани/ She jumped into the cart;

Она придумала вскочить ему на спину/ She planned to jump on his back;

Она стала взять и сбросывать рыбу на дорогу/ She began picking and throwing off fish on the road;

Она по одной рыбке бросала, бросала/ She one by one fish dropped, dropped;

Он встретился опять с лисой/ He met again the fox;

Она берёт и рыбку бросает/ She takes and fish drops (she takes fish and drops it);

Она тут же это же рыбу развесила/ She here this fish hung;

Она села на воз. / She sat on the cart

Our Russian data confirms the findings of Tomlin (1986) with regard to pronouns as topic markers in other languages. It is evident that pronouns in Russian discourse also are found in the beginning of the episodes, while the zero anaphora occurs inside of the episode structure. It should be also pointed out that one of the prosodic features of Russian is that pronouns are not normally used post-verbally because they carry weak stress in such position. Therefore the VS WO, where subject is a pronoun, is generally avoided.

8.5. WO and the syntactic function of a clause in Russian

One very clear case of association between prototypical WO and the function of the clause is the syntactic device of counterposition. The WO remains SV in numerous examples of sentences beginning with the conjunction a / but:

А лиса его выследила/ But the fox him chased;

А лиса специально открыла глаза/ But the fox specially opened [her] eyes

In neither of these examples would the inversion of the subject and the predicate be grammatical or seem acceptable.

Another conjunction related to the SV WO is и / and. Very often the conjunction a (cited above for expressing couterposition), functions with the meaning of (contrastive) and in Russian. Thus, in the following examples **и** and **a** are synonymous conjunctions:

А дед приехал домой/ And the old man came home;

А в это время лиса собрала рыбу/ And meanwhile the fox collected the fish;

А лиса была в гостях у одной старушки/ And the fox was visiting an old lady

И он пошёл/ And he went;

И он её посадил на спину/ And he her put on the back;

И она засела к нему на телегу/ And she sat in his cart

We could speculate that the beginning of a sentence with conjunction **a** totally restricts the WO to SV, while the conjunction **и** in the beginning of a sentence still permits the inversion to VS WO. It will be acceptable, for instance, to say:

И пошёл он/ And went he;

И посадил он её на спину/ And put he her on the back (And he put her on his back);

И засела она к нему на телегу/ And sat she in his cart.

And yet, there hardly is a single sentence where we observe VS WO. (Another factor for avoiding VS WO in the above examples was already mentioned in 8.3.6.: the post-verbal positions of Russian pronouns is not common because of their very weak stress there.)

The conjunction и is used with extraordinary frequency in the Russian narratives. In most cases it joins together clauses in coordination to each other, describing consecutive events. In many other cases it joins a new clause to the sequence of events of the preceding discourse, and on rare occasions the conjunction expresses a cause-effect relation between the introduced clause and the preceding text. It is natural to expect that the conjunction appears more often inside the episode when many successive events need to be conjoined. We encountered 39 occasions of both uses of the conjunction и and in all but one of them the WO is SV (we cited only few of them because only they had new character, new episode or new picture function at the same time). We think that there is a strong tendency shown by our data for fixing the WO to SV when a conjunction и is used and that this explains the occurrence of some SV sentences that initiate new episodes. In some cases pronominalization works together with the conjunctions in fixing the WO.

8.6. WO and complex sentences

In 6.2 we already referred to the complex sentences found in Russian data. We pointed out that all the clauses in all 10 complex sentences (7 of which with an adverbial subordinate clause and 3 with an embedded clause) have SV WO. Apparently we are dealing here with special conditions for the WO type which restrict its variation: if there are altogether 10 complex sentences in the Russian discourses and all have SV WO, it shows a tendency to a pattern of more rigid WO. Thus sentences like:

> Когда он ехал по лесу, лиса почуяла запах рыбы. / When he went through the forest the fox smelled the fish.

where a new character, namely ЛИСА, appears for the first time, is no exception from the WO pattern of all complex sentences. The same explanation applies to the following examples where new episode begins:

> Когда она выбросила рыбу, она встретилась с волком/ When she threw out the fish she met the wolf;
>
> Волк решил, что он тоже не глуп. / The wolf decided that he was not stupid either;

8.7. WO variation as characteristics of individual speakers

By examining all the lexical items that are used by the speakers in the sentences of SV type as well as their functional load, we found potential explanation for not having a WO change in these particular examples. It is not always the case, though, that the reasons for an exception can be identified with factors that work as a general pattern in the different discourses. There are characteristics of the individual speech of the informants that result in a good number of SV sentences introducing new elements in the discourse. Our only explanation for these sentences is that they are idiosyncrasies associated with the particular speaker who used them.

We already mentioned one of these cases in which all the new characters (Мужик, лиса, волк, мужики / peasant, fox, wolf, peasants) and some 5 of the episodes or new pictures are introduced exclusively by SV sentences (the speaker is #11 in the table below): In fact only twice did this speaker change the WO in his narration. There are also five cases in the same narrative in which new episodes and new pictures start with SV WO:

Мужик наловил рыбу/ The peasant caught fish;

А лиса специально открыла глаза/ And the fox specially opened [her] eyes;

И вдруг волк появился навстречу/ And suddenly wolf appeared in front of her;

И вот волк пробил дырку/ And here wolf made a hole;

Вот это мужики очнулись/ Here these peasants awoke.

This regular use of SV WO appears to be a individual characteristic of the speech of the informant. We have to acknowledge the use of the WO here as an exception from the common pattern. Apparently, this speaker does not use the WO as a marking device in his discourse. What then would be the device used by this speaker for marking the new information? We look for lexical and intonational factors in order to answer this question.

The phenomenon of SV preference is noticed in other narrations (#2, #10 & #17 - all marked with an * in the table below), where the speakers used only two or three VS sentences accordingly. The reason we did not exclude these narratives from the data of the study (as we excluded those who used SV exclusively, see 3.2.) is that the subjects did change the WO at least once. For the purposes of the analysis here we present the individual patterns of WO change as it occurs in the discourses collected from our nineteen subjects ("SV n / SV t" means SV sentences with new elements vs. SV total):

subj #	total sent.	VS total	VS new	SV total	SV new	VS n/ VS t	mean	SV n/ SV t	mean
1	10	6	5	4	2	5/6	.83	2/4	.50
2*	13	2*	2	11	6	2/2	1	6/11	.55
3	21	5	4	16	5	4/5	.8	5/16	.31
4	19	7	4	12	5	4/7	.57	5/12	.42
5	17	4	4	13	1	4/4	1	1/13	.08
6	14	6	5	8	1	5/6	.83	1/8	.13
7	17	3	3	14	4	3/3	1	4/14	.28
8	25	8	7	17	5	7/8	.88	5/17	.29
9	23	6	5	20	4	5/6	.83	4/20	.20
10*	28	3*	1	25	9	2/3	.66	9/25	.36
11*	14	1*	1	13	4	1/1	1	4/13	.31
12	23	5	5	20	4	5/5	1	4/20	.20
13	18	5	5	14	2	5/5	1	2/14	.14
14	13	5	5	9	3	5/5	1	3/9	.33
15	27	7	5	20	5	5/7	.71	5/20	.25
16	20	7	7	14	1	7/7	1	1/14	.07
17*	13	2*	2	11	6	2/2	1	6/11	.55
18*	17	2	1	15	8	1/2	.50*	8/15	.53*
19	26	3	3	23	4	3/3	1	4/23	.17
total	**358**	**86**	**74**	**279**	**79**	**75/86**	**.87**	**79/27**	**.28**

Table 37: Sentence Distribution by Subjects (Russian data)

The table shows that subject #18 used the SV or VS types of WO equally when introducing new entities. His mean numbers present an almost equal ratio for the correspondence between the VS sentences with a new character, episode or picture vs. all the VS sentences used as well as between the SV sentences with the same function vs. all the SV sentences used.

If word order is not the preferred device used by this speaker for marking given and new, we have to find out the specific devices he uses for this purpose in the narrative. First, the intonational contours of his narrative appear to be surprisingly different from all other subjects. While many of the speakers spoke quickly taking only short pauses for catching breath, and almost no distinctive stress (quite resembling the style of the commentator of a sports event), this particular speaker spoke very slowly, with emphasis on each lexical item, with pauses and variation of intonation, similar to the performance of a good actor. We think that his intonation is such a strong factor in distinguishing given and new that other devices become unnecessary. For instance, when he introduces the wolf in the story, he even uses an elliptical sentence: И вдруг - волк её навстречу / And suddenly - wolf her in front of, in which there is a rising intonation on вдруг/suddenly followed by a pause. Right after the pause the word "волк" is pronounced with abruptly falling pitch. All the following lexical items are pronounced together and no division of the constituents can further be made. This is the typical technique by which a speaker achieves emphasis on a new element in the discourse, using Yokoyama's Type 2 intonation. In another case, when "мужики" appear for the first time in his narration, he uses a different technique:

А когда хвост у него замёрз	And when tail his froze
и лисичка рыбу всю съела,	and the fox fish all ate up (the fox ate up all the fish)
вот эти мужики очнулись,	here these peasants awoke
что нету рыбы	that there was not any fish....

The two clauses before introduction of the villagers are pronounced fast, with no separating pauses between the words there, only the rising intonation on the final verbs замёрз / froze, and съела / ate up emphasize them. Right after them, the speaker starts making pauses: one between вот / here and эти мужики / these peasants and another between очнулись / awoke. It helps the hearer to distinguish clearly the importance of the new participants - the villagers or peasants.

While for the speaker #18 intonation is the major means of distinguishing the new entities in discourse, speaker # 10 used an individual lexical marker for signaling a new episode in discourse. Thus, in four out of six episode-introductions she used значит / so, (you know) as an explanatory device:

> Лиса, значит, видит, что дед не смотрит/ Fox, you know, saw that the old man did not watch;
>
> Значит она нашла укромное место/ So she found a hidden place;
>
> Ну волк, значит, составил ей компанию/ And wolf, you know, kept her company;
>
> Значит, волк бежит/ So wolf run .

It is not possible for us to explain why subjects # 2, #11, #17 used significantly more SV sentences. (One very reasonable explanation is that they are the speakers that have spent a long time in Canada and the rigid WO of English has influenced their native language. Unfortunately, there are other speakers in the Russian group who spent the same length of time in an English speaking environment, and whose narratives do not support this assumption.) For now, we only consider them as special cases which still support our hypothesis, but with fairly limited contributions of VS sentences. Thus, we associate with idiosyncratic speech characteristic five exceptions used by subject #11, three used by subject #2 and three by subject #17.

8.8. Overall summary

In summary, we have to point out that lexical factors such as adverbials, particles, conjunctions together with intonation account for many of the exceptions of WO change. For example, adverbials are the extra lexical markers for rheme in 13 cases of all the exceptions. Another 3 sentences have structures enlarged by adjectives. The use of the particle "tyt" in 7 cases and the particle "ny" in another 6 blocks the WO inversion. Demonstrative pronouns and the demonstrative particle "vot" assure the SV WO in 4 cases. Pronominalization of the subject accounts for 12 exceptions of the WO inversion. The conjunctions "и" and "a" introduced 9 of the exceptions. The individual use of "значит" is associated with 4 of the exceptions.

The position of being discourse initial is justification of having SV WO in 7 exceptions. The restrictive factor of the complex structures over the WO variation could explain the SV WO in 10 sentences that introduce new episode in discourse. The remaining 11 of 79 cases could be regarded as individual speech characteristics - normal deviation from the hypotheses tested.

Sometimes factors blocking the WO inversion co-occur and we can not tease them apart in order to distinguish their individual role. For instance, pronominalization often is used in sentences with conjunctions, different particles are used sometimes together, occasionally SV sentences have adverbials and adjectives at the same time. Therefore the exceptions often must be considered as a result of co-occurring factors. Most important to note is that intonation works together with the lexical items in alternating WO inversion for introduction of a new character, new episode or new picture in discourse.

We can relate the exceptions which we encountered to the more general markedness hypothesis that marked structures signal each of the categories of new in discourse; then the exceptions may be classified as various types of the marking of new characters, new pictures and/or new episodes, together with WO inversion. This is presented in Table 38.

marking category	VS	SV lex + Int 2	SV Int1 lex+pause	SV complex [SC+ MC]	SV no marking
NC	43	17	0	1	1
NP	39	6	11	0	6
NE	59	4	21	7	9

Table 38: Marking Conditions of NC / NP / NE in Russian

(for abbreviations see text)

We can clearly note that WO inversion is the dominant marking device for introducing new entities and events in Russian discourse, but that the movement of the stress from its usual position to a new character is another way of showing relative salience (column SV lex+Int2, where lex = lexical item and Int 2 = intonational type2 - the subject-rheme gets the sentential stress). Any extra lexical item such as adverbial or particle followed by a pause is also associated with markedness (column SV+Int1+lex+pause). The complex sentences with an adverbial clause which occur as episode-initial (column SV complex) also present marked structures, since their subordinate clauses (SC) precede the main clauses (MC).

Thus, by invoking other marking conditions we explain most of the exceptions to the VS WO. Moreover, we show that these are not exceptions to the general markedness hypothesis formulated above. (The table excludes pronominalization since the process of pronominalization is a factor blocking WO change rather than a signal of a marked structure.) The few remaining unexplained exceptions are entered in the final column (SV no marking).

9. Analysis of exceptions in Bulgarian

Of all 243 SV sentences that are used in the Bulgarian narratives only 68 have the function of introducing a new character, new picture, new episode or any of these factors in a variety of combinations. Here, as in the case of Russian, most of the sentences with a single function are episode initial (28), fewer are picture initial (12) and only 4 introduce a new character. The same distribution holds with regard to the prevailing numbers when the sentences with double or triple function are considered: again the smallest is the number of the sentences with a new character (only 19), larger is the number of picture initial (31) and the largest number involves the new episode (48).

9.1. Types of exceptions expected

We have already explained the reasons for this uneven distribution with regard to the Russian data in the beginning of chapter 8. The expectations apply to the Bulgarian data as well. In summary, we suggested that the inversion of the WO is most probable when the new entity in discourse plays the role of a subject and less probable when the new entity is a new action or event described by a verb. Since a verb can not play the role of a subject, the match of subject and rheme in the sentence is not possible.

The probability of WO inversion in the case of introducing a new character is supported by both pragmatic and grammatical factors, while in the case of new picture or episode beginning, it is only supported by pragmatic factors. Consequently, when a new character is introduced, it has more chances to be the subject and the rheme of the sentence and the new element in the discourse. Therefore the inversion of the WO is very frequent and there are just a few exceptions from it.

The inversion of the WO in the cases with a new episode or new picture is not always assured by the grammatical factor and that is why there are more exceptions from the general tendency of a WO inversion. For instance, there are total 19 sentences of SV type with a new participant in the narratives while there are 79 SV sentences with a picture or episode beginning.

9.2. Exceptions at discourse beginning

As Table 31 showed there are 5 sentences that have SV WO and a triple function for introducing a new character, a new episode and a new picture at the same time. Three of them are also discourse-initial:

В един студен януарски ден дядо Иван тръгнал за риба/ One cold January day grandfather Ivan went fishing;

Дядото се връща от реката с една каруца риба/ The old man is coming from the river with a cart [full] of fish;

Дядото бил наловил риба/ The old man had caught fish;

Another two sentences could be addressed here also:

Дядото тръгна на пазар/ The old man went to a market;

Един дядо се връщал от пазара/ An old man returned from the market.

The last two examples are discourse-initial sentences with new character and episode beginning functions. We do not assign to them the picture beginning function, only because picture 1 from the set does not provide the speakers with any element that refers to a market (пазар). As mentioned in 5.1, we adopted the formal principle to consider as picture initial only those sentences that actually mention any event described in the particular picture.

One plausible explanation for the above five exceptions of the general pattern is their function of initiating the narrations. The lack of previous context creates a situation where no relation with given and new at a discourse level is established. Every element of the first discourse sentence could be viewed as new by both the speaker and the hearer.

The WO variation in discourse initial position shows that in 5 cases the prototypical SV WO type is preferred, in another 9 sentences VS WO is preferred, and there are 5 cases where the canon of the folk tale style is kept, for example:

живял едно време един дядо / once upon a time lived an old man;

живял някога един старец / lived once an old man;

имало едно време един дядо и една баба / once there was an old man and an old woman.

9.2.1. Given/ new and definite/indefinite subjects at discourse beginnings in Bulgarian

While the claim that at discourse-initial position every element of the information structure is treated as new is highly plausible, since there is no previous context, we can check its correctness by analyzing the realization of the category of definiteness in the Bulgarian narratives. In contrast to Russian, the Bulgarian language system provides postposed morphemes as definite articles to the nouns and adjectives. Although the category of definiteness can not be uniquely identified with the article (see more in

Chvany 1983), its presence in the morphology of Bulgarian can account for the relationship between given and definite, on one hand, and new and indefinite, on the other. The assumptions we can make are: first, if every element of the initial discourse is treated as new, no article will be used with the nouns within the first sentence; and second, the WO will have to signal indefiniteness if the article is not used as a morphological marker.

What do the data show? Since the first picture represents the old man and the fox, these are the two nouns that could occur in the first sentence of each discourse. In all cases but one (Видяла хитрата лисица, че дядо хванал много риба на реката (Saw the sly fox that the old man caught many fish at the river), the Bulgarian speakers begin their narration with the old man. There are 5 instances in which the old man takes the definite article:

Дядото бил наловил риба/ The old man had caught fish;

Дядото тръгна на пазар/ The old man went to a market;

Дядото се връща от реката с една каруца с риба/ The old man was coming from the river with a cart with fish;

Връщал се дядото от риболов/ Was returning the old man from fishing;

Върви си дядото с каручката натоварена с риба. /Was going the old man with the cart with fish.

One narrative begins with a sentence where the old man receives even a personal name:

В един студен януарски ден дядо Иван тръгнал за риба/ In a cold January day the grandfather Ivan went fishing

Since any personal name is a marker of uniqueness and since the category of definiteness shows that the referent could be uniquely identified by the hearer, the last example also falls into the group of the definite subjects. This makes a total of 6 cases in which the old man appears as known and definite in the discourse beginnings.

There are another 6 cases in which the speakers do not refer to the old man as a definite subject. This is done either by zero article or by use of the indefinite pronoun "един" (one) which functions mostly as indefinite article in Bulgarian (see Popov: 1979). Examples:

Тръгнал дядо за риба/ Started going an old man for fish;

Отиде дядо за риба/ Went an old man for fish;

Един дядо се връщал от пазара/ An old man came back from the market;

Тръгнал дядо с каручката за риба/ Started going an old man with the cart for fish;

Връщал се дядо от риболов/ Was coming back an old man from fishing.

This almost equal split of the definite and indefinite subjects could be explained by the different assumptions which speakers made about what is known and unknown to the hearers. First, some of them remembered the folk tale and probably assumed that their hearers also know its popular version. Second, the speakers actually looked first to the pictures and then they began telling their stories. We can speculate that the moment of seeing is the moment of identifying the participants and for this reason some speakers present the participants as already known and definite. It is well known that the article has originated in those languages that utilize it from the demonstrative pronouns. That is why the meaning of the morpheme "то" in the structure of "дядо-то" (the old man) has inherited the meaning of the demonstrative. It is connected with pointing out something at the moment of speaking. In the situation of looking into the picture and telling about it, the speakers use the article as an act of pointing to the particular man in the particular picture. I. e. "the old man" (дядото) is equal to "this old man" (този дядо). (Note that there is no indefinite function of the Demonstrative "tozi" (this) in Bulgarian as it is found in English - see Prince 1981.)

While the above holds true for the half of the speakers, the other half of them seem to refer to the old man from the point of view of the hearer, who has never seen the characters in these particular pictures. That is why these speakers described the participants as indefinite.

Let us now see how the WO relates to all of the above. The sentences with indefinite subjects almost unanimously employ the inverted VS WO, compare 4 VS vs. 1 SV. The sentences with definite subjects are split into 4 of the prototypical SV and 2 of inverted VS. These results supports our idea that the WO will signal the cases when the subjects are indefinite: namely the lack of marking of definiteness establishes a tendency for the WO to become marked, or as we say, inverted. At the same time, the subjects that are presented by the speakers as definite most often take the role and the position of a theme which normally precedes the rheme. Therefore the change of the WO rarely occurs.

Our empirical data supports the contributions of Ivanchev to Bulgarian linguistic theory (Ivanchev 1978: 128-172). He relates the theme-rheme distribution to the category of definiteness in the structure of the Bulgarian sentence. When the subject of a sentence is part of the theme, ("ekspozicija" (exposition) in his own terms), claims Ivanchev, it occupies a position before the verb and takes the definite article; when the subject is the rheme ("kulminacija" (culmination) in his terms), it is positioned after the verb and it does not get an article. What could be added here, is that the choice of one or another option is very personal and subjective as far as the initiation of discourse is concerned. It results in the variation that we presented with numbers in the previous paragraph. If and when the contextual factors of given and new are established, then they limit the WO choice of the speakers, since their relation to the previous discourse has to be maintained: when the previous discourse already shows some entities to be known, they can be referred as known in the following discourse.

To sum up, we have to say that the WO in discourse initial position varies with regard to the speakers' assumption of what is given and new. Once the speakers made the choice, they assign the definite markers on the elements that become theme and then the WO becomes more rigid than flexible, keeping the position of the theme in the beginning and the position of the rheme in the end of the sentence. If the speakers do not distinguish in their initial sentence the subject as identifiable and choose to have it as indefinite, then the WO is inverted in order to signal the newness assigned to it as a rheme.

9.3. Lexical factors affecting the WO in Bulgarian

9.3.1. Adverbials

Similar to our findings from the Russian data, we found that adverbial phrases in Bulgarian narratives are also associated with SV word order. Examples:

В този момент селяните от селото видели вълка/ At this moment the peasants from the village saw the wolf (new characters+new episode+new picture);

В този момент дядото видял вълка/ At this moment the old man saw the wolf(new episode + new picture);

В същото време лисицата отишла в селото/ At the same time the fox went to the village (new episode);

В същото време старецът разлютен подгонил вълка/ At the same time the angry old man chased the wolf (new episode);

В това време Кума Лиса изтичала в селото/ At this time the godmother fox ran into the village (new episode)

След това лисицата се прибрала вкъщи/ After that the fox went home (new episode)

След това лисицата се престорила на умряла/ After that the fox pretended to be dead (new episode)

И изведнъж селяните го видели / And suddenly the villagers him saw (new picture+new character).

It is an interesting phenomenon that only occasionally adverbials are used by the speakers. Moreover, when used, the adverbials constitute a sentence unit separated by a pause from the remaining part of the sentence. What follows after the adverbial is the subject, which is usually known from the previous discourse and appears only as a transitory element or a bridge to the new information carried by the verb phrase placed in the sentence end (the subject appears as a new character only in the first of the above examples). The intonational contour does not distinguish any of the elements other than the adverbial phrase by a sentential stress . It is obvious that the structure of the sentences above comply with the prototype of SV WO where the element with the newest information goes to the end. In such cases the adverbials mark the new episode that follows.

9.3.2. Conjunctions

The counterpositioning expressed by the conjunction обаче / however or само че or но / but, form another group of exceptions from the VS type of WO:

Още при първите къщи, обаче, кучетата го подушили / Even at the first houses, however, the dogs smelled him (new character +new picture);

Обаче лисицата не била умряла / However the fox, was not dead (new episode);

Обаче лисана се качила на каруцата / However, the fox claimed into the cart (new episode);

Обаче дядото пък си закарал рибите / However, the old man brought his fish home (new episode);

Само че тя не била умряла / But she was not dead (new episode);

Но лисицата се оказала жива / But the fox turned out to be alive (new episode);

Не щеш ли, обаче, по едно време кумчо вълчо се отбил при нея / Much to your surprise, however, at some time the wolf came at her [place] (new character+new episode)

Но не щеш ли, опашката му замръзнала/ But unexpectedly the tail his froze (new episode).

The events in all the examples cited above take place contrary to what is expected on the background of the previous context. It is very well emphasized by the phrase не щеш ли (much to our surprise, unexpectedly) in the last two examples. The surprising development of the plot is pointed out by the conjunctions in all the sentences above and the prototypical WO remains. The WO inversion seems to be blocked by the conjunction which has a equivalent function of emphasizing the new event: if there was no lexical item to signal the new event, the WO would probably have changed to VS. We can tentatively conclude that the WO inversion and conjunctions of counterpositioning do not co-occur: we can not change the WO in the examples above. For instance, WO inversion in:

Но оказала се жива лисицата / But turned out to be alive the fox

Обаче не била умряла лисицата / However was not dead the fox,

and in all other sentences with counterposition is very odd.

The prototypical WO of SV is preserved also when the conjunction и (and) is used in the context of events that occur as the most expected consequence of what was just said. The sentences introduced by "and" in these cases have embedding function, although they are independent clauses in grammatical terms. For example:

И той (вълка) отишъл / And he (the wolf) went (new episode+new picture);

И глупавият вълк я послушал / And the silly wolf to her listened (new episode);

И кумчо вълчо я закарал до вкъщи / And the wolf her took home (new episode).

The cited examples follow episodes in which the wolf and the fox had a conversation: the first two sentences follow the fox's explanation as to how she caught the fish and her advice to the wolf to do the same, the latter sentence comes after the episode in which the fox argues how badly she hurts and need to be carried, since she can not walk. The actions that the wolf undertakes are a consequence of these utterances, and are naturally expected, therefore the conjunction "and" is used. This lexical factor prevents the inversion of the canonical WO. It is impossible to have verb preposing after "И" in these examples, i.e.,И отишъл глупавият вълк (And went the silly wolf) or И закарал я кумчо вълчо до вкъщи (And took her the godfather wolf home), are not appropriate. However, if the conjunction и /and is not used, the VS WO is commonly used: there are 8 cases in which the Bulgarian speakers use the inverted WO for exactly the same episode: отишъл кумчо вълчо / went the wolf.

Another lexical factor influencing the WO is the conjunction така / thus. In the Bulgarian language the word "taka" is often used with a demonstrative meaning of "that is how" or "in this way". Only in regard to the previous context the meaning of "така" becomes clear. It is very important here to understand the meaning of the lexeme, in order to explain the WO that is used. The following two uses of "taka" in one narrative are under discussion here:

....

чакал чакал но риба няма / [he] waited waited but fish there was not
тръгнал да стане но опашката му замръзнала / [he] decided to stand up but the tail
his froze
когато изведнъж станал тя се скъсала / when [he] suddenly stood up it got cut
в същото време старецът разлютен подгонил вълка / at the same time the angry old
man chased the wolf
и хубаво... и изял тоягата / and very well... and [he] got beaten
така той тръгнал датърси лисицата / thus he went to look for the fox
за да я накаже за скъсаната си опашка и за сопата от дядото / in order to her
punish for his tail and for the stick from the old man
тя разбрала какво е станало / she understood what had happened
престорила се на болна / [she] pretended to be sick
и започнала да вика / [she] began to cry
да я качи кумчо вълчо на гърба си / should her take the wolf on back his (that the wolf
should take her on his back)
и да я носи / and [he] should her carry
защото е много болна / because [she] was very sick
и така той през цялото време я носил на гърба си / and thus he for the whole time
carried her on back his

а тя повтаряла / and she repeated

болен здрав носи / the sick [person] carries the healthy [one]

The demonstratives as parts of speech only have deictic function to point to objects, events or other entities in a real communicative situation, or to refer to entities already mentioned in the preceding/following discourse.

When trying to find out what is the referent of "taka" in the context, we have to look to the lengthy preceding discourse. In this particular case we are dealing with a manner adverbial whose meaning should answer the question "how". More specifically here the context should provide the answer to the questions "How does the wolf begin looking for the fox?" in the first case, and "How does the wolf carry the fox" in the second case. After searching the context, we could not find any reasonable answer to the questions asked. A plausible answer would have been:" he begins Immediately, angrily, quickly (and so on) to look for the fox", while for the second question something like "he carried her with his last strength, with sincere sympathy" would have been reasonable. All we can find, though, with regard to the second use of "taka" is "he carried her all the time on his back".

Therefore, we suggest that the function of "taka" in the particular examples is not the one of a demonstrative adverbial. More likely, it plays the role of a conjunction of the type "thus", that comes as a summary of the information from the previous context and a marker of textual cohesion with the following context. The different function relates to a different WO choice. If "taka" was only replacing an adverbial of manner it would have been closely related to the verb of the sentence, since the adverbial modifies the verb. In such case the inversion would have been most probable: in order to assure a close tie between the verb and the adverbial, the linear structure would have ordered preposing of the verb and would have placed the subject after the verb. Now, when we consider the meaning of "taka" as semantically related to the much broader context and as a marker of a shift to the following, we can explain the resistance of the prototypical WO of SV. The inversion of the verb would have strongly emphasized the meaning of "taka" as only related to the verb. But a phrase of the type "in this way the wolf carried the fox" or "in this manner the wolf began looking for the fox" are not a true reflection of the meaning. In other words, the inversion does not take place, since the pragmatic requirement of the truth value of presupposition can be violated. The semantics here controls the linear ordering of the sentence that follows.

9.3.3. Summary: constituent structure and clause WO

The constituent structure of the sentence is definitely a factor in WO inversion. The more expanded clauses tend to have a prototypical WO of the main elements: the subject and the predicate. Consider the examples:

Глупавият вълк веднага отишъл на реката /The stupid wolf immediately went to the river;

И глупавият вълк клекнал на леда / And the stupid wolf sat on the ice;

Накрая битият вълк носил и лисицата на гърба си / In the end the beaten wolf even carried the fox on his back;

Изгоненият вълк отишъл на брега/The turned out wolf went to the shore.

The three of the given examples describe one and the same event - the wolf goes to the river after the talk with the fox. The short sentence "отишъл вълка" or "отишъл (кумчо) вълчо на реката" (went the wolf or went the wolf to the river) is used regularly (8 cases) for exactly the same event and always with VS WO.

Two explanations for the appearance of this particular WO can be offered. First, we suggest that the inversion takes place much easier when it involves changing places of a noun and a verb only. When the noun phrase and/or the verb phrase unify more elements, these elements also have to find their place in the linear structure of the sentence, when an inversion takes place. This complicates the distribution of given and new in the information structure, since within the rheme and the theme there also are more or less salient elements. For instance, the adverbials веднага (immediately) and накрая (in the end) from the first two examples above, could occur before or after the verb as well as in the absolute end or beginning of the sentence. In either case, the sentence will carry a different load of saliency.

There are claims in traditional grammars that the complexity of the theme and the rheme is connected with the order of the constituents within the theme and the rheme. For instance, the Bulgarian Academic Grammar (vol. 3, 1989: 283) describes the WO of the elements of the complex rheme as appearing in a more stable pattern that is predicted by the need of an emphasis on the "most substantial" information. The WO of a complex theme, however, is said to be more flexible and the flexibility results from its secondary or backgrounding function in the sentence. What we have to add here is that the WO of the thematic elements, when placed in the sentence beginning, also make a connection with the previous context. The need of referring back to what is known predetermines the placement of the theme constituents. In our particular examples the theme consists of a noun and an adjective and the Bulgarian grammar places the modifier (the adjective) before the noun it modifies.

All these factors have to be considered by speakers, and the more considerations they have to make for the place of the theme and the rheme constituent the less probable it becomes that they will also change the places of the main constituents. Therefore the canonical WO is the most expected one in extended clauses.

A second explanation may involve the pace and the rhythm of speech. This was already suggested in 8.3.5. when the Russian exceptions to WO inversion were analyzed. In the Bulgarian discourses one can definitely distinguish a pattern regarding the pace of the narration: decelerations in speech flow occur when a new event and/or a new entity is introduced. The process of slowing down the speech pace may involve structural extension, such as long clauses or complex sentences, or may involve a change from the WO prototype. In all cases it takes more time for the hearer to process the information, since the longer structure requires a longer time to process and the VS WO as a non-traditional and surprising device also gets more attention and time for comprehension. We proved with the statistical analysis that most often the WO change signals the new entity and the new events. Now, when analyzing the exceptions we can explain one significant portion as having the same purpose (signaling the new) by using a different tool, namely complex or extended clauses.

9.4. Complex sentences and WO

Let us then focus our attention on the complex sentences in the Bulgarian discourses. In 6.2. we referred to them as special markers of a new episode. Their function at episode beginning is also explained in the paragraph above. What is more important now, is to consider them as exemptions of a WO inversion which is predetermined by the sentence type. We have to underline again that the main body of data supporting the hypotheses of the study are simple declarative sentences used by the speakers.

9.4.1. Attributive clauses

The group of complex sentences with attributive/relative clauses comprises 4 cases, in all of which the main clause is divided by the subordinate one. For instance:

> Лисицата, която само се преструвала на умряла, започнала да изхвърля рибата/ The fox who only pretended to be dead began to throw the fish out.
>
> В това време кума лиса, която знаела какво би се случило, отишла в една изба в селото / At this time the fox who knew what would happen went to a basement in the village.

The SV WO of the main clause is the only possible WO in all these instances. Inversion cannot occur since it would prepose the verb and the whole relative clause will lose the modifier that it refers to.

9.4.2. Adverbial clauses

A similar reason for preserving the SV WO is found when an adverbial clause is inserted between the subject and the predicate of the main clause. For example:

> А стопаните, като ги чули, излезли / And the villagers, when them heard, went out;
>
> И нашата хитруша, като видяла, че вече е на каруцата отгоре и рибата около нея, и че дядото не гледа, хвърляла, хвърляла рибите отзад. / And our clever fox,

when realized that she was already on the cart and the fish was around her, and the old man was not watching, [she] threw off, threw off the fish behind the cart.

The interruption of the main clause by the insertion of the subordinate one is a factor that requires the prototypical WO. Since the disconnection of the subject and the predicate is already causing difficulties in processing the discourse, the inversion would make the comprehension even more difficult.

When the adverbial clause precedes the main one the WO also tends to be SV in both clauses. Consider:

И тъй като дядото вече недочувал, тя се метнала отзад зад гърба му/ And because the old man already could not hear well, she jumped on behind his back;

И докато дядото си карал, тя изхвърляла една по една рибите/ And while the old man rode ahead she threw the fish off one by one;

Една вечер, след като уловът му бил доста богат и каруцата му била напълнена догоре, по пътя за вкъщи срещу него просната той видял лисица / One evening after his fishing was very successful and cart his was full, on the way home right in front [of him] he saw a fox.

It is argued in the literature (Prideaux & Hogan 1993) that complex sentences beginning with a subordinate clause are processed with more difficulty than those beginning with the main clause. This claim is supported by the theoretical distinction of marked vs. unmarked structures, as well as by experimental tests. It was determined that in most cases the subordinate clause follows the main one and the reversed order of the two clauses is a marked alternative which has special functions and therefore occurs less frequently. If and when an inversion of the main constituents in the clauses takes place, it will be another way of expressing markedness. We can say that such sentence will become double marked and twice as difficult to process in the cases under study.

We believe that the processing of a complex sentence that contains both a marked clause order and a marked main constituent WO within its clauses will be very difficult. For this reason, we suggest, speakers keep the prototypical WO in the internal clauses of the complex sentences.

9.4.3. Apposition, parenthetical forms

The SV is the only grammatical choice in the complex sentences with an appositional/parenthetical clause, such as:

> И той, нали е милостив, качил я на гърба си/ And he, [he] was kind indeed, took her onto back his;
>
> И кумчо вълчо, какво да прави, отишъл на реката/ And the wolf, not knowing what to do, went to the river;
>
> И вълчо, нали си бил гладен, тръгнал към реката/ And the wolf, [he] was hungry indeed, went to the river;
>
> А лисицата, като по-хитра, се качила на него, повтаряйки си: "болен здрав носи"/ And the fox, being the smarter, climbed onto him, repeating to herself: "the sick [one] carries the healthy [one]."

Apposition is related to the subject: it adds some general qualification that the speaker considers to be important for justifying the character's behavior at this moment. When the apposition is inserted right after the subject and before the predicate of the main clause, the process of comprehension of the main clause is slowed down, but the comprehension is not ambiguous, since the parenthetical clause helps to understand what follows and since the WO places the elements in the logical chain of doer, action, goal.

However, the inversion of the predicate and the subject when followed by apposition makes a long break, which causes disconnection of the main clause. The comprehension of its meaning then is either ambiguous or impossible. The WO of the constituents of the verbal phrase in the main clause gets confused also: if the preposed predicate is left at the very beginning of the main clause and the adverbial follows at the very end, after the subject and its apposition, the predicate and the adverbial become totally disconnected; and if the verb takes first position in the main clause followed right after by the adverbial, the apposition is senseless, for it no longer has a purpose. That is to say, the original and the only possible place of the apposition is between the subject whose permanent characteristic is described by this apposition and the verb, since the justification of the action expressed by the verb is given by this apposition:

> И отишъл кумчо вълчо, кво да прави, на реката (?) / And went the godfather wolf, what to do, to the river (?);
>
> И отишъл на реката кумчо вълчо, кво да прави (??) / And went to the river the wolf, what to do (??)

The inversion becomes impossible if the main clause has more constituents in the verbal phrase and all of them lose connection between themselves:

> А качила се лисицата, като по-хитра, на гърба му повтаряйки си "болен здрав носи"(?) / And climbed the fox, being smarter, onto his back repeating to herself: "the sick [one] carries the healthy [one]" (?);
>
> А качила се на гърба му повтаряйки си "болен здрав носи" лисицата, като по-хитра (??). / And climbed the fox on his back repeating to herself: "the sick [one] carries the healthy [one]" the fox, being smarter (??)

9.5. WO of the prototypical folk tale style

Along with the criteria of grammaticality and the requirement to avoid ambiguous structures, the canonical WO is preserved due to some traditional patterns that appear as cliche structures. Examples like: Кума лиса само това и чакаше (The godmother fox waited just for that), occur in the narratives verbatim and always in SV WO. The style pattern occurs at discourse beginnings as Имало едно време един дядо (Once upon a time there was an old man). The only difference is that in the former example the WO is fixed as SV, while in the latter example the WO is fixed as VS.

The connotations of the style are seen in most of the cases when the inverted WO is used, but it is not associated either with a new participant or with a new event in the discourse (we deal with this problem again in the end of the chapter). In fact, there are a number of cases when the speakers used дърпал вълка, дърпал (pulled the wolf pulled), or хукна кумчо вълчо да бяга (run the wolf to run away), or зарадвал се дядото (happy became the old man), which are pure reflections of the popular folk tale style and which the speakers used imitating the structures known from folk tradition. We have to point out that these particular examples can not be used either in support (when the inversion of the WO takes place) or against the hypotheses tested (when the prototypical WO is preserved), since they only show that the WO is sometimes controlled by stylistic factors which are not in the scope of this study.

9.6. Pronominalization and WO

Grammatical pronominalization explains some of the cases when the WO is not inverted. The act of pronominalization is a referential choice for reintroducing or reactivating in the discourse a character which is known to the listener, but has not been mentioned for a certain length of time. Tomlin

(1986) considers the alternation between noun and pronoun to be a function of the limited capacity of working memory. He argues that the use of a noun or pronoun is correlated with the functional syntax of reference. That is, in discourse production, subjects use a full noun to reinstate reference across an episode boundary, and they use a pronoun to maintain reference within a particular episode.

While it is certain that a pronoun could not possibly introduce a new participant in discourse since it is an anaphoric device of reference, it is not always the case that a sentence with a pronoun-subject could not begin a new episode. Tomlin's experiment as well as our study, only argue for general tendencies, but exceptions are still admissible. In his own definition the episode boundary reflects not only information shift to a new character, but major changes in time and place in the flow of discourse. This explains the cases when we encounter pronouns in the episode-initial or picture-initial sentences.

In short, an act of pronominalization is an act of reintroducing the entity it refers to. Since the normal, traditional place of the Slavic rheme is at the sentential end, it is quite unlikely that a pronoun, which only reintroduces an entity and plays the role of a theme, will occur there, rather than at the beginning of the sentence. On the basis of this we could predict that the WO of sentences with a pronoun as a subject is SV. This is supported by examples such as the following:

> Обаче лисицата не била умряла. Тя изхвърляла една по една рибите от каручката на дядото / However the fox was not dead. She threw one by one the fishes off the old man's cart;
>
> Кума лиса казала на селяните, че вълкът е на реката и те го пребили / The fox told the peasants that the wolf was on the river, and they beat him to death.

9.7. Individual speech and WO patterns in Bulgarian

After considering many factors which prevent the WO inversion, we now have to look at the individual characteristics of the speech of the subjects in this experiment. As the table below shows, subject # 12 uses equally SV and VS WO for introducing new entities in the discourse. As just for some Russian subjects, we consider this to be an example of idiosyncratic style.

subj	total sent.	VS total	VS new	SV total	SV new	VSn/ VSt	mean	SVn/ SVt	mean
1	10	2	2	8	4	2/2	1	4/8	.50
2	10	3	3	7	5	3/3	1	5/7	.71
3	15	6	5	9	2	5/6	.83	2/9	.22
4	25	6	5	19	5	5/6	.83	5/19	.26
5	16	7	4	9	2	2/6	.33	2/10	.20
6	16	9	6	7	2	4/10	.40	1/6	.16
7	8	2	2	6	2	2/2	1	2/6	.33
8	31	3	3	28	3	3/3	1	3/28	.11
9	26	5	4	21	1	4/5	.80	1/21	.04
10	12	2	2	10	6	2/2	1	6/10	.60
11	11	1	1	10	6	1/1	1	6/10	.60
12*	14	4	2	10	5	2/4	.50*	5/10	.50*
13	15	6	6	9	1	6/6	1	1/9	.11
14	32	11	10	21	4	10/11	.90	4/21	.19
15	19	6	5	13	5	5/6	.83	5/13	.38
16	18	3	3	15	8	3/3	1	8/15	.53
17	23	8	8	15	1	8/8	1	1/15	.06
18	28	14	7	14	0	7/14	.50	0/14	0
19	12	3	3	9	4	3/3	1	4/9	.44
total	**341**	**98**	**81**	**243**	**67**	**81/98**	**.83**	**67/243**	**.27**

Table 38: Sentence Distribution by Subjects (Bulgarian Data)

9.8. Summary of the exceptions in Bulgarian

To sum up, we have found in this chapter that there are several factors which tend to fix the WO of the Bulgarian sentence. Under specific contextual conditions, such as the position of the sentence in the discourse structure or the constituent structure of the particular sentence, the WO tends to become more rigid and the inversion of the main constituents does not take place. This is the case in 5 sentences in which the initiation of the discourse causes the WO stability of SV type.

With regard to the clause, we discovered two main factors in fixing the WO in Bulgarian: the complexity of the clause and its type. We can connect the complexity of a clause with the process of inversion in the following way: the more complex the structure is, the less probable the inversion of its main constituents. This claim is supported by a number of lexical items. First of all, we found out that the presence of adverbials in the verbal phrase or the presence of adjectives in the noun phrase restricts WO flexibility. Since these lexemes play a role in the distribution of the sentential stress by changing the intonational pattern of the sentence and because they must also be linearly ordered when the inversion takes place, the process of inversion becomes complicated and at times even impossible. There are 15 sentences presenting exception of the general pattern which are accounted for by the lexical factors such as adjectives or adverbials.

The pronominals as themes and co-referential means are the reason for having SV WO in another 3 cases.

When we talk about the type of the clause as a factor, we consider structural and functional types. Among the former, we distinguish complex and simple structures, and among the latter we distinguish the functions of counterposition, apposition, conclusion, relativization and others expressed by particular conjunctions in the clause. For instance, 12 SV sentences are considered as exemptions justified by the factor of counterpositioning expressed by "however, but"; 3 SV sentences are accounted for as exceptions because of the conclusive element carried by "thus" in their structure; apposition or parenthesis account for the SV WO in another 6 cases; and 5 exceptions are explained by the embedding function of the conjunction "and" with which the sentences begin.

With regard to the complex structures we distinguish 4 complex sentences with an inserted relative clause that cause the preservation of the prototypical WO. There are other 5 complex sentences whose WO is SV due to the conditions of subordination.

Thus, we end up with 63 out of 68 exceptions already explained and justified by other factors which happened to override the power of the WO change in order to signal a new character or event in the discourse.

In 8.9. above, the exceptions in the Russian data were related to markedness. Similarly, another way to explain the exceptions in the Bulgarian data is to relate them to the same more general hypothesis of markedness, namely that marked structures signal new information in discourse. Here also WO inversion is the dominant marking device for signaling new events or entities in Bulgarian discourse, while intonation shift, lexical items or complex structures are supplementary means with the same function. Table 39 presents a summary of the marking conditions of new character, new picture and/or new episode in Bulgarian.

marking category	VS	SV lex + Int 2	SV Int 1 lex+pause	SV complex	SV no marking
NC	51	4	0	3	6
NP	32	3	14	9	7
NE	54	1	15	13	4

Table 39: Marking Conditions of NC / NP / NE in Bulgarian

(for abbreviations see text)

The second column (SV lex+Int 2) in the table above includes cases where adverbials, conjunctions, or particles accompanied by stress on the grammatical subject-rheme, signal a new character in discourse. The next column (SV+Int1+lex+pause) presents the use of these lexical items (followed and/or preceded by a pause) when they mark new picture or new episode in discourse. Complex sentences occurring with a marked clausal WO (the subordinate clause precedes the main clause or a relative clause, or apposition, is inserted in the main clause) are entered in the column SV complex.

Thus, we may summarize all of the above conditions as marked structures for signaling new characters, new pictures or new episodes in discourse; this leaves only a few exceptions to the general markedness hypothesis formulated above (SV no marking in the table).

9.9. VS sentences with none of the tested functions

While we are primarily concerned here with explaining the cases when the inversion of the WO did not take place, we also want to analyze the examples in which the VS WO is used, but with a function which is different of the ones tested in this study; i.e., we have to explain the 10 sentences that do not introduce a new character or a new episode or a new picture, but still occur in VS WO. Most of them are already mentioned in this chapter as result of the folk tale style and traditional structures, that are used as cliches. We also have to add the rhythm of the speech which is manifested differently in the two word orders.

The very first grammarians of Bulgarian (Balan, Andrejchin) pointed out the rhythmic function of WO. It is a pity that no experimental study has been conducted, either in Bulgarian or in Russian, with regard to the WO and the rhythm of the speech. The analysis in the present study reviels interesting facts which could be further investigated. The narrations in which the speakers preferably use VS WO consist mainly of short sentences that rarely include more than the main sentential constituents of subject, predicate and/or object or adverbial for place. This structure is very dynamic, the shifts from one action to another are immediate.

The narrations characterized with more SV sentences are not so dynamic. First, because the sentences are longer: they contain many adverbials of time, place, manner related to the events and adjectives or participles modifying the participants. The perception is slowed down by the heavy lexical load of the structure. Compare two different descriptions of the most dynamic event in the narratives, the one where the wolf is chased by the villagers and his escape is a matter of life and death:

в този момент селяните от селото видяли вълка / at this moment the peasants from the village saw the wolf

кучетата се разлаяли / the dogs began barking
тръгнали да го хващат / [they] ran to catch him
изплашил се вълкът / got scared the wolf
хукнал да бяга / [he] began running
и опашката му останала в леда / and the tail his was left in the ice

във този момент / at this moment
докато кумчо вълчо чакал своите рибки / while the wolf waited for his fishes
се чул далечен кучешки лай / was heard from a distance dogs' bark
след кучетата той видя няколко селяни / after the dogs he saw a few peasants
които се втурнали към него с големи прътове / who ran after him with big sticks
които щом видели кумчо вълчо / who after seeing the wolf
се втурнали да го бият / run to beat him
той усетил / he felt
че ще си изпати / that he would suffer
и тръгнал да бяга / and began to run
естествено бягството му се затормозило / naturally the escape his was complicated
тъй като опашката му, / since the tail his,
дълбоко замръзнала във реката, / deeply froze in the river
не му позволявала / did not let him
да се помръдне на никъде / move anywhere
кумчо вълчо все пак изпитал ужаса / the wolf anyway was terrified
от наближаващите кучета и настървените / by the approaching dogs and ready
да го бият овчари / to beat him shepherds
дръпнал силно / [he] pulled strongly
скъсал своята опашка / cut his tail
и все пак успял да избяга / and anyway succeeded to run away

The first example above resembles the effect of a poetical structure, with rhythmic organization. We could compare the role of the rhymes in the poetry to the role of the WO and constituent structure in the narratives. While this study does not provide statistical data for the analysis of the dynamic feature of discourse, it suggests that many times the effect of rhythm is the reason for the speakers to use sentences with VS WO. Most of the VS sentences used in the discourses whose presence is not explainable by the hypotheses of the present research might plausibly be explained by the requirements of rhythmical organization, although this would require further study.

10. Conclusions and general discussion

We began this study with a special interest in the "free" word order in Bulgarian and Russian. Our general purpose was to find out what discourse factors motivate the speakers' choice of WO and in particular, to summarize the tendencies of occurrence of "inverted" WO. We expected that our research would help to better understand WO flexibility in two related, but structurally distinct languages. It was hoped that the study would contribute to the clarification of the general assumption in grammar that the loss of morphological inflection in a language system usually results in the fixing of WO. We also hoped to relate our findings to the strategies of good story telling.

The experiment conducted was generally successful and enabled us to achieve the main goals of this study. Collecting narratives based on a set of pictures limited the theme and the contextual conditions in discourse production to a reasonable number which one could investigate. At the same time, narrative production provided the environment for the use of alternative syntactic structures as a good basis for functional analysis. The use of tape-recordings helped in collecting natural texts, with all their good and bad features. Although the intonational contours were not in the scope of this study, having the opportunity to listen to narratives helped in our analysis of discourse structure and given/new distribution.

Improvements of the experimental design would involve first of all a better set of pictures representing each of the main events in the story in more organized and detailed way. If the pictures provided a complete basis for the composition of the narrative, this would probably result in the cooccurrence of episode and picture beginnings, as well as in a better structuring of narratives in main episodes each of which would reflect a new scene. In our case we experienced some difficulties when defining the beginnings of the new picture and new episode since there were gaps in the visual representation of the events in the story.

In addition, one could chose for narrative production a pictured story which is not associated with a particular literature genre such as folk tale, as was the case in this study. Then the influence of a predetermined style would be avoided and WO inversion could be tested under freer conditions. In the case of this study we chose a popular folk tale as a basis for narrative production because initially we had a project for a broader investigation - namely one in which we would deal with given/new expressed in two different sets of data: one that was produced by speakers who had never heard the story, another from those that knew it already. For various reasons we had to abandon this initial plan, but we still would like to explore it further in future research.

10.1. Summary on the tested hypotheses

In the core part of the study we tested three discourse factors that we assumed would influence WO inversion in Russian and Bulgarian. The three original hypotheses were that the new character, the new episode and the new picture would tend to be marked by an inverted WO; and these hypotheses were supported by statistical analysis. We showed that the WO is dependent on these factors when they work together as well as when they work independently of each other in discourse. When tested regardless of their interference, the three factors show statistically very significant influence on WO inversion in both languages. Moreover, after analysis, we found that there are just 9 of 79 Russian and 10 of 98 Bulgarian VS sentences which do not carry one or another of the tested functions. Therefore, we are confident that the new character, new picture and new episode play a major role in WO inversion in Russian and Bulgarian discourse.

The new character introduction in discourse shows a very similar effect in Russian and Bulgarian where the percentage distribution of the VS and SV WO and the level of statistical significance are very close. (new characters, though, are more consistently introduced in Bulgarian discourse by VS WO.)

The factors of new episode and new picture beginning seemed to correlate better with the WO inversion in Russian than in Bulgarian: their influence over Russian WO results in a greater number of VS sentences expressing these functions as well as in a higher statistical significance. In other words: when compared to Bulgarian, Russian is more strongly dependent on discourse factors such as new picture and new episode.

When isolated each from another and statistically tested, the three factors show that new character is the most independent factor in the two languages. It is not significantly affected by the new episode and new picture factors in its role in WO change. It even contributes to the new episode factor in the WO inversion. The new picture factor, when combined with the new episode, also contributes to WO inversion in Bulgarian and Russian. The new episode, however, works mainly in combination with the other two factors and shows dependency on them.

10.2. Concluding suggestions based on the exceptions in the two languages

Although our main concern was to show that the new character, new picture and new episode introduction tend to be marked by VS WO, in process of testing these factors we found interrelations between WO and some other factors. For instance, non-inversion of WO occurs (for both languages) in very similar contextual conditions, such as lexical and structural complexity of a clause, intonation, and pronominalization. When explaining the exceptions to the general pattern, we discussed these contextual conditions which on the one hand block WO inversion, and on the other alternate with WO inversion in marking new information in discourse. In this sense the "exceptions" of WO inversion may also be considered as marking devices of novelty in discourse.

One special context is discourse beginning. It was reasonable to expect that this context was the place where the three factors of new character, new picture and new episode would work together and WO would be VS almost without exception. Our data, however, showed WO variation with a significant number of both SV and VS sentences. We suggested that at discourse-initial position speakers' choice is less dependent on the factors tested, because there is no relation to formerly established given and new information. At any subsequent position within the discourse, where the contextual factors of cohesion and distribution of given and new from the previous discourse operate, the speakers' choice of WO is more "controlled" and therefore consistent with these factors.

The lack of context, however, could be considered as a position of neutralization and according to markedness theory, the WO should tend to be unmarked, i.e., SV; but it was clearly not the normal case.

Analysis on the reflection of definiteness/indefiniteness in the Bulgarian data resolved the seeming contradiction in the above theoretical explanations. The data suggested that the given/ new distribution is based on speaker's assumptions about what is known or unknown to the hearer. Some Bulgarian speakers assumed that their hearers know the folk tale because it was popular, some probably made their choice of definite/indefinite reference after seeing the pictures, which were available only to them, but not to their listeners. The situation, therefore, presupposed different assumptions and they were reflected in the WO variation.

Even under these circumstances, we found that our hypotheses of relation between introduction of new entities in discourse and WO change were correct: the choice of indefinite reference (when speakers treated the participants as new) co-occurred with inverted WO; and the definite referential means were used mainly in the prototypical SV WO.

It was not the goal of this study to test the relation between definite/indefinite, given/new and WO, but what we suggest could be further investigated with regard to discourse structure in Bulgarian.

In both languages we found that adverbials and particles at the beginning of a clause, together with intonation, work as alternatives to WO inversion in marking new information in discourse. There always is a pause after the temporal or adverbial of manner or particle in Russian and Bulgarian. The intonation of the remaining constituents distinguishes a new character with sentential (logical) stress or a new episode and/or new picture with no sentential stress assigned. This observation has not been tested yet using discourse production techniques, and presents a hypothesis for further research in both languages.

We observed that more expanded constituent structures tend to occur with a prototypical WO. When a noun phrase or a verb phrase in a sentence with a new character or episode/picture beginning contained an adjective or an adverbial respectively, the VS inversion usually did not occur. This could be explained as due to difficulties in sentence production: when the main constituents of a complex structure are inverted, their modifiers must also find their new places in the linear structure, a process which itself complicates the inversion. A second explanation involves the pace and rhythm of speech and relates to the process of comprehension. The introduction of a new event or entity in discourse is marked by the speakers so that the hearers will distinguish them in the flow of speech. We found that more often speakers use WO inversion rather than extended clauses (or complex sentences) to signal new information. VS WO as a marked structure requires more time for processing information. Extended or complex clauses, being longer structures, also take more time for comprehension. Therefore we relate them as different devices in marking new entities in discourse. This conclusion argues against Hawkins' (1983) heaviness principle, which posits inversion under these conditions, and should be investigated further.

The WO of complex sentences which we found as episode-initial tend to be SV. Our data of complex structures are fairly limited, but we think they present a basis to hypothesize that subordination and relativization, which establish special relations between constituents of the subordinate and main clause, are additional factors in the fixing WO to SV.

This study presented several arguments in support to the statement that the function of a clause, which often is expressed by special conjunctions, correlates with the WO. We determined that syntactic functions of counterposition, apposition, consequence and contrastive embedding usually occur in SV type of sentences and sometimes this WO is the only grammatical and/or acceptable choice.

All these observations about the relation of the constituent structure and syntactic function of the clause to WO in Russian and Bulgarian also present a bases for future research.

Before closing this section, we should point out that very often lexical factors such as adverbials, particles, and conjunctions co-occur, and we could not differentiate the individual role of each factor in blocking inversion. It is also important to recall that they play a role in emphasizing the new element together with intonation. It is evident, though, that WO inversion is primarily used for distinguishing given and new in discourse, and only occasionally is it replaced by lexical and intonational factors with no change in the prototypical WO.

10.3. Russian and Bulgarian WO type

Before testing our hypotheses we assumed that the SV is the prototypical (most neutral) WO in the two languages studied. Although it was not our goal to test this, our data confirmed the assumption. We encountered many more SV sentences in the Russian and Bulgarian narratives than VS sentences (279 vs. 79 in Russian and 341 vs. 98 in Bulgarian).

We began this study accepting the idea, expressed in the literature, that a language system such as Russian which exhibits morphological marking tends to be more flexible than an analytical language system such as Bulgarian. Our data, however, does not show evidence that WO variation is more limited in Bulgarian than it is in Russian. Contrary to this general assumption, we found that inverted VS WO occurs in the Bulgarian narratives more frequently than it occurs in the Russian narratives: namely, 28.7% vs. 22%. The study showed also that WO inversion in Bulgarian is less dependent on the factors of new picture and new episode than in Russian. Thus in Bulgarian discourse in general, we encountered more VS sentences than in Russian, and at the same time we correlated fewer VS sentences with the distribution of new as picture or episode-beginnings in Bulgarian than in Russian.

Although we can not conclude that one of the languages under discussion is characterized as having more "free" WO, we have some grounds to state that the loss of morphological inflection in Bulgarian did not result in making its WO more rigid in comparison to the WO of Russian.

10.4. The technique of WO inversion and good story telling

The major goal of this study was to find tendencies of dependence between WO and discourse factors, therefore most of the conclusions concern this relation. We may, however, also relate the WO inversion to the strategies of the good story telling.

WO inversion, being a device of emphasizing new information, helps to focus the attention of the hearer on the importance of the following discourse. It also contributes to structuring narratives by showing the beginnings of new episodes; this eases the comprehension of the narrative.

This study also suggests that the VS WO contributes to the rhythmical organization of narratives. The effect of its use resembles the effect of rhymes in poetry. Inverted structures are best for expressing events that occur quickly one after another. Speakers using VS sentences usually obtain a greater dynamism in the discourses which they produced.

We discussed additional ways of distinguishing new episodes and new participants in discourse, other than WO change. The use of extra lexical items in a clause, together with special intonation, and complex structures, although synonymous in function with WO inversion, do not express the pace and rhythm in discourse. Speakers' choice of one or another language tool, from among the variety which the system provides, determines the overall structure and shape of the narrative, and affects the quality of their stories.

10.5. Suggestions for future research

There are many other factors that could further be investigated, using the method which we employed. The particular folk tale shown by the pictures is fairly popular in both Slavic cultures, Russian and Bulgarian. This gives the opportunity for the researcher to study language use in reflecting memory: what do the speakers recall after a period of time has passed since they originally heard the folk tale. This approach could give a different insight into the "old and new information" phenomenon. A comparison of the vocabulary which speakers use is another possible field of examination. Naming the participants in the story, and introducing some of them in more detail and forgetting completely about others, also reveals interesting facts about the role of salience in determining the referential choice of the storytellers. The distribution of co-referential means and pronominalization tend to be different too, and questions are raised concerning factors that influence these choices. The interpretation of main events further supplies data for cross-cultural analyses.

The study of WO itself could be extended to include investigation of those factors that block the WO inversion. Such an experimental study would show if the conditions we suggested here (complexity of a clause, presence of extra lexical items, subordination) play a statistically significant role in preserving the prototypical WO in Russian and Bulgarian. Such research would further contribute to determining how "free" WO is in Russian and Bulgarian.

WO inversion should also be tested in other types of discourse. In the case of this study, some narratives were influenced by the traditional folk tale style, which is characterized by its use of cliches and a form of overlaid rhythm, which may have confounded our results. It would be interesting to check if the tendencies found would occur in discourses based on an unfamiliar set of pictures that would not relate to any literary style.

All of the above are possible new areas of research. Although very appealing, these ideas have been deliberately set aside from the analysis undertaken here. Instead we have limited the scope of this study to the purposes described in the beginning of this chapter: namely, word order and its relation to the pragmatics and structure of discourse.

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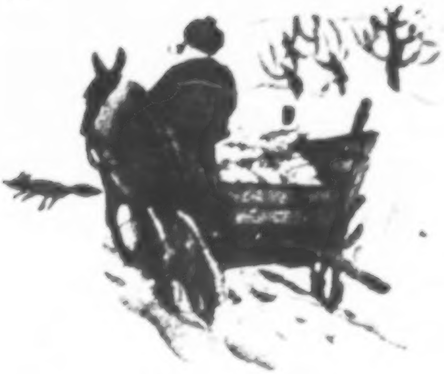

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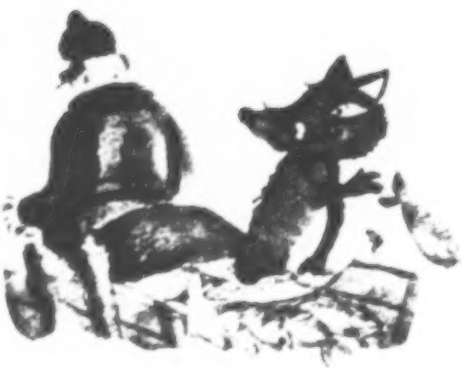

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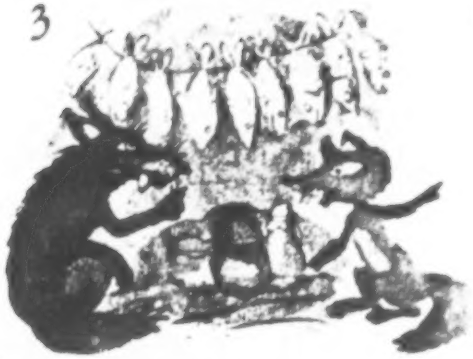

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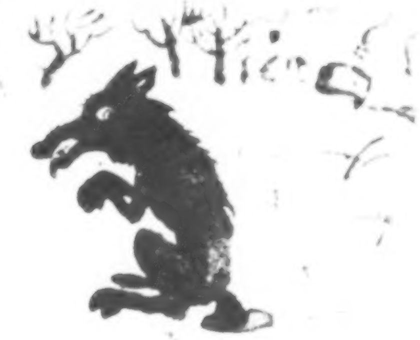

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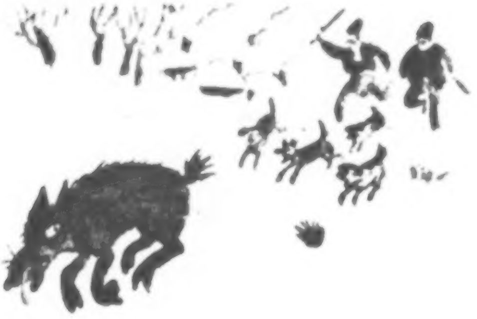

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